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Abbreviations:

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Bp.—bishop
b.n.—brief notice
hist.—history
histor.—historical
men.—mentioned
n.—noted
rev.—review

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FRENCH AND AUSTRIAN POLITICAL ADVICE TO PIUS IX, 1846-1848

By

Friedrich Engel-Janosi*

Soon after François Guizot, then minister of foreign affairs of France, had dispatched Pellegrino Rossi, one of Italy's foremost liberal writers and later economic theorist and peer of France, as his envoy to Rome in the spring of 1845, the latter referred to the Papacy in a report "as the last greatness left to Italy," and the French foreign minister agreed that "that which is still great in the country is the Pope."[1] Those messages were exchanged at a time when the reign of Gregory XVI was drawing to its close.

In Vienna, Prince Metternich never ceased to emphasize the political and social importance of the papal temporal power. "The Pontifical States exist," he said in May, 1847, "and their existence is a social and political necessity."[2] But from the very beginning of Gregory's pontificate the Austrian chancellor had been sceptical

* Mr. Engel-Janosi is professor of modern European history in the Catholic University of America. This article is based on materials in the Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris, and the Oesterreichische Staatsarchiv, Vienna. The author's sincere thanks for generous help and co-operation are expressed especially to M. Degros of the Paris archives and, once more, to Countess Anna Coreth of the Staatsarchiv.

[1] Rossi to Guizot, Rome, September 28, 1845; Guizot to Rossi, Paris, October 7, 1845, cited in François Guizot, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps* (Paris, 1865), VII, 451 ff.

[2] Staats-Archiv, Wien (hereafter these archives will be referred to as: St.A), Lettre particulière May 15, 1847, in Rapports Rome, II.

about the Pontiff's ability to carry out this aspect of his mission properly. In proud words he reminded the Pope to listen to Vienna's superior political advice. "Rome," he said, "should not try to act smart, the Pope should, rather, accept our advice. This will require less effort, and only thus will they profit. . . . We alone are strong." The chancellor's dissatisfaction with the Pope at that time arose from the same reason that caused him to censure most of the sovereigns of his day: they all seemed content to administer their states in a weary sort of way, with none of them willing to take the trouble to rule in the true sense of the word. For the same reason he was later to refer to the "non-government" of Pius IX.[3] This feeling of dissatisfaction contributed much to the Austrian chancellor's growing pessimism for the future of the conservative cause.

At the time of Metternich's dispatch of 1831, all the great powers supported the idea of offering advice on certain reforms and changes for the Pontifical States. Their ambassadors met and their memorandum of May 21, 1831, was intended to become the basis for the political reshaping of the papal government. It is well known, of course, that this assumption proved to be an illusion and that strong political discontent developed again during the last years of Gregory XVI. Rumors of rioting in the Romagna explain in part the exceptionally short duration of the conclave held after Gregory's death; they probably explain also the fact that his successor was elected from among the cardinals who had never been prominent or even active in the Roman Curia.

While it is still not possible on the basis of our present information to outline precisely the political program that Pius IX had at the time of his election (if it can be presumed that he had then elaborated such a program), it is certain that he was critical of a good deal of what was going on in the administration of the temporal power and of the Italian states in general. It is equally certain—as he himself admitted[4]—that he felt a bias against Metternich-ruled Austria, an attitude further strengthened by the Pope's dislike of the Josephinistic laws and institutions which were still living on in the Habsburg Empire. It is hardly likely that Pius did not also feel critical of the other

[3] St.A., Metternich Weisungen, April 19; December 25, 1831; Lettre particulière, April 4, 1847.

[4] St.A., Rome Varia, 1847 (*sic*), Lettres particulières July 26, August 21, December 26, 1846.

Catholic great power, where the lukewarm attitude of the *juste milieu* and of the majority of the *pays légal* was warming up to extort from Rome some special measures against the Jesuits. However, it was to be expected that Vienna and Paris would be equally eager in attempts to tender advice to the Holy Father. The centuries-old rivalry for the hegemony of Italy, which had also included since the July days of 1830 (as it had at times in the past) a different inner-political approach, would be largely concentrated on the attempt to impose their views on the Roman court.

Upon his arrival in Rome during the last months of Gregory XVI's reign, Rossi drew up a desperate report on how much the influence of France had vanished at the curia. If a conclave were to take place then—and he thought it not permissible to exclude such a possibility in the near future—French influence in it would be precisely nil.[5] But before long the envoy became more optimistic, and, while he still thought that France should abstain from offering advice at that time, he felt sure that the moment to give such advice would come. "We should not offer it," he remarked, "they will have to ask for it."[6] Again, it is certain that immediately after his election Pius IX planned reforms and felt confident that he could handle the situation well. "We will have railways, we will grant amnesties, we will do something. We will also have public audiences," he told the Austrian ambassador.[7] In this the truly moderate program outlined in D'Azeglio's *Ultimi casi di Romagna* may have served as a basis for the Pope's words. When the outcome of the papal election arrived, both Paris and Vienna sent their advice to the new Pontiff, whose accession to the chair of St. Peter had been welcomed by both Guizot and Metternich.[8]

Guizot's political attitude in general was then becoming so moderate that a year later an understanding with Metternich on the

[5] Guizot, *op. cit.*, VII, 406; letter of April 27, 1845.

[6] Salvo Mastellone, "Pellegrino Rossi . . . e il problema italiano secundo la corrispondenza particolare," in *Rivista storica italiana* I (1949) 85, letter of September 28, 1845.

[7] St.A., Report Aug., 21 B, 1846; Rossi reported at the same time (August 25, 1846) that the Pope told him he wanted to center his attention on the financial question. Guizot, *Mémoires* . . . , VIII, 345.

[8] Cf. the writer's "Zwei Studien zur Geschichte des österreichischen Vetorechtes" in *Festschrift zum zweihundertjährigen Bestand des oesterreichischen Staatsarchives* (Wien, 1951), II, 291.

Italian and the Roman Question was well under way. In the dispatch that he sent to Rossi[9] as a reply to the letter which announced the election of June 16, the French foreign minister expressed his conviction that it would not at first prove difficult to content the people of the Pontifical States, but that "useful reforms and indispensable improvements" ought to be prepared and carried out; in this manner the Pope would acquire a glorious popularity.

Guizot thus avoided pointing out concrete single measures. But the Austrian chancellor in giving his first advice kept—as he was wont to do in his later years in office—completely within the sphere of general reflections. He had immediately assured Pius IX of Austria's willingness to co-operate fully with him in the defense of the great conservative principles; two weeks later, he sent three detailed *aperçus* for the use of the Pontiff.[10] The first of them dealt with the difference between government and administration in which there was emphasized once more the importance of concentrating the governing activity in the center of the state, while handing over the administration to the several sections of the state. In the second the chancellor, referring to the well known plan of Pius IX, considered it important to keep the character of an amnesty clearly in mind. Such an act, to Metternich's mind, was, and could only be, a pardon; thus the consequences of the fault committed could be extinguished, but not the fault as such. Finally, the third *aperçu* expressed a warning against what were termed "concessions." Nobody should be mistaken, the prince wrote; such acts as might spring from justice, prudence, acts of a good government could not be considered to be "concessions"; they were proceedings according to the demands of reason and duty. "A concession proper includes a surrender of a right," he said, "and therefore a government granting concessions gives evidence of being weak."

Underlying the advice as provided in the *aperçus* was the attitude which Metternich was to express more than once, namely, the head of the Church must be liberal in his mind, but he should not "liberalize" in his actions. As he expressed it, "the highest moral power shall not proceed in the wake of the parties; the position reserved to the

[9] Archives of the Ministère des Affaires Etrangères, Paris (hereafter referred to as: AMAE), June 27, 1846.

[10] *Aus Metternichs Nachgelassenen Papieren* (hereafter referred to as: N.P.) (Wien, 1883), VII, 245 ff.; June 28, July 12, 1846.

Sovereign Pontiff is to be at the head of the sound part of mankind. No greater disaster could happen to the body social than to watch the parties of disorder marching on while crying out 'Viva Pio Nono' and carrying with them the colors of the Chief of the Catholic World."[11]

The Austrian ambassador, Count Rudolf Lützow, was in full agreement about the necessity for the papal government—"that government," as he stated, "which is much in need of being supported and of receiving advice and help"[12]—to be given the benefit of hearing the voice of Vienna. Yet, even at the beginning of the pontificate while the ambassador was still outspokenly in favor of the new Pope, who seemed resolved to take no step before he had received full information about the matter concerned, the Austrian diplomat reported that his advice had not been requested.[13] And this complaint was to become a recurrent one, and brought forth with an increasing intensity. By the end of the year he formulated his program in these words: the less he was in agreement with what happened in Rome, the less he would speak out without being asked to do so.[14] However, such a demand was not made. Count Lützow referred to the prevalent "Gallomania," that great disease then affecting all Rome;[15] he complained about Pius' predilection, what he called an "almost unlimited deference," for the government of Louis Philippe.[16] The Austrian ambassador had to admit that neither the Pope nor his ministers had confidence in him, and that he had no way of giving them the benefit of Metternich's advice. The affairs of Rome should give the impression—Lützow thought—of not being influenced by any foreign influence; they should appear to be a true family affair.[17] The ambassador's isolation became even more complete as Austria, during 1847, fell more and more into unpopularity at Rome, and it prompted him to say, "the exasperation against Austria exists here and will continue,"[18] especially since the incident of Ferrara. As it

[11] *Ibid.*, VII, 339, October 19, 1847.
[12] St.A., Lettre particulière, July 8, 1846.
[13] St.A., Rapport Rome, August 21 B, 1846.
[14] St.A., Rapport Rome, December 31, 1846.
[15] St.A., Lettre particulière, July 12, 1846.
[16] St.A., Rapport, July 16 A, 1847; in a similar sense Rossi July 18, 1847, Guizot, *Mémoires*, VIII, 355.
[17] St.A., Rapport, July 3 D, 1847.
[18] St.A., Rapport, October 2 C, 1847.

gradually became known that Lützow was not called to the Quirinal any more, he saw his drawing rooms deserted. All he could do was to prevent the situation from deteriorating further, and in the summer of this year, having reported how very few opportunities had ever been given to him to communicate with the Pope, the envoy cried out, "Je suis à la lettre isolé."[19]

Yet Metternich did not relax in what he may have considered his political apostolate. To him the political independence of the Pope was not only a religious demand of the Catholics but also a great political interest of the Catholic powers, and Austria would uphold such interest as long as the empire existed. However, Metternich gave an equal stress to the necessity of administrative reforms in the Pontifical States, and to him it was a postulate of duty and wisdom to introduce them. It would probably have been easier for the ambassador to carry out the chancellor's order to win the confidence of the papal Secretary of State had the request not been given three weeks after the Austrian troops had extended their zone of occupation from the fortress of Ferrara into the city itself.[20] It was rumored in Rome that the protests against this encroachment upon the Treaty of Vienna had been the personal work of the Pontiff.[21] Nevertheless, in a dispatch to Lützow, Metternich elaborated on his thesis that religious and social truth were identical and that society could prosper only through keeping faith and religious morality. Whatever reforms would remain within the limits set by the great powers' memorandum of 1831 the chancellor considered appropriate for the Pontifical States.[22]

The prince was well aware that such strict limits to reform activity were probably not much to the liking of the Pontiff, whom he and his ambassador had watched closely since the election of June, 1846. The Austrian diplomatic correspondence of those years also contains many critical remarks concerning the character and the ability of the French representative in Rome. While Rome was still under the reign of Gregory, Lützow had written a report concerning the difficulties that Rossi had encountered at the Roman court in his en-

[19] St.A., Lettre particulière, October 7, 1847; Rapport, August 29, 1847.
[20] St.A., Weisung, August 7, 1847.
[21] St.A., Rome, Varia, 1847, August 12, Réservé.
[22] St.A., October 10, 1847.

deavor to be promoted to the rank of ambassador.[23] When the amnesty of Pius IX was published the Austrian diplomat was eager to announce that the French envoy had had no part in promoting it, and by the beginning of 1847 he could inform Vienna that the role of Rossi had ceased to be prominent. This successor of Montmorency, Chateaubriand, Laferonnaye and other similarly illustrious names, now seemed little content with what Pius IX and his government were doing. Lützow recalled that he had served for almost twenty years as Austrian ambassador at the papal court, but whatever the names of the French representatives there might have been, they all had worked to antagonize and to injure Austria—an attempt that the representatives of the Bourbon monarchy had made just as had those of the Orléans regime, and in this respect Pellegrino Rossi was no exception to the rule.[24]

There was likewise complaint that, even at the time when Guizot seemed willing to co-operate with Metternich on Italian affairs, Rossi continued on his anti-Austrian track. Lützow especially resented the influence that the French ambassador wielded and that even at the Russian embassy. Was it a sufficient explanation and was it of much help to brand "the miserable colleague" as "a climber"?[25] For the Austrian chancellor, who had asked for information about the attitude of the "excarbonaro" diplomat, Rossi ranked among those ambitious ideologues who, while aiming at moderate reforms, contributed conspicuously by their lack of realistic insight to the downfall of the existing order. His ambassador went still further when he wrote, "this man has his hands in every plot aimed at ruining the Temporal Power."[26]

When Rossi paid his first homage to Pius IX on the morning after the election, he was told by Gabriele Cardinal Ferretti, who was to become the second Cardinal Secretary of State to the new Pontiff,

[23] St.A., Rapport May 5, 1846, II. These difficulties are also discussed in two documents published by Laszlo Ledermann, *Pellegrino Rossi* (Paris, 1929), pp. 328 ff.

[24] St.A., Rapport Rome, 1847, II; January 23.

[25] St.A., Lettres particulières, Rome July 25; December 25, 1847; Varia, August 12, 1847; Lettre particulière, October 7, 1847; Metternich Lettre particulière, April 4, 1847; Rossi "qui a été de préférence à tout autre organe diplomatique consulté et écouté par le Souverain Pontif depuis son avènement à la tiare," August 31, Rapport Rome 1847, II.

[26] St.A., Lettre particulière, July 11, 1847.

that two reforms for which there had long been clamor were to be granted, namely, the amnesty and the construction of railways. "If this were to prove to be correct," Rossi reported, "I should consider the tranquillity of the provinces to be safe."[27] In the first audience the Pope agreed with the French diplomat on the necessity of granting moderate reforms "in conformity with the true traditions of the Curia," as the ambassador pointed out. Pius assured Rossi that it was of great importance for Rome to know that they could count on the kind disposition of the French king and his government. The tone of the conversation seems to have been much warmer than that at the audience granted to Lützow, albeit the Austrian reported himself much pleased with his welcome.[28] However, three weeks later the French ambassador voiced some impatience that neither the amnesty nor the railways had been actually granted by that time.[29] And this impatience soon grew stronger. After the enthusiastic acceptance of the amnesty,[30] Rossi and his chargé d'affaires had no doubt of the excellent and benevolent dispositions of the Pontiff; in fact, the French diplomats were most outspoken on this point. Yet, by November people seemed to be sceptical about the ability of the Pope to carry out his intentions, and it was reported to Paris that "it would be dangerous to allow this doubt to continue."[31] In the next month reference was made in Rome to the "weakness" of the Pope. To the French ambassador Pius willingly admitted the necessity of complying with the spirit of the time. "Public opinion is a fact; one must accept it," he said, in discussing the Jesuit question, in which Rossi did not play his cards openly. The ambassador insisted on the reforms all the more because the people would then be satisfied with moderate measures, and taken mainly in the field of administration without the foundations of the state being touched. Again there was agreement between the Pope and Rossi as to the necessity of starting with the question of personnel. But right here the difficulties began with Pius, who wanted to hurt no one.[32]

[27] AMAE, Rome, June 17, 1846; the name of Cardinal Ferretti is given in Rossi's Memorandum of July 28, 1847, AMAE.

[28] AMAE, Rome, July 8, 1846; St.A., July 3, 1846.

[29] AMAE, Rome, July 28, 1846.

[30] According to a communication Cardinal Altieri made to Corcelle, 1,600 persons had fallen under the amnesty of 1846; out of this number 600-800 actually returned. AMAE, Report Corcelle, September 29, 1849, tome 992.

[31] AMAE, Report Broglie, Rome, November 18, 1846.

[32] AMAE, Report Rossi, Rome Dec., 8 Réservé; December 18, 1846.

At the beginning of the next year, Rossi was hopeful that from the way in which the Pope had handled public affairs, the Pontifical States would be spared a reaction as well as an ill-considered radicalism. However, at this point the ambassador began to emphasize the importance of a secularization of the government, a topic which was to become a favorite with him. But here he encountered a consistent, although always mildly voiced, opposition on the part of the Pope. In expressing once more his sympathy with the plans of Pius, Guizot complained about the delays occurring in the carrying out of the reform program.[33] Moreover, Rossi soon had to report the occurrence of outspoken hostility on the part of the people against a number of cardinals who were supposed to be still adhering to the old regime. "I do not want to assume that we are on the eve of a revolution," he remarked, "but the situation has definitely deteriorated." Pius IX was equally well aware of the fact and of the necessity to speed up the reforms. Thus in June the decision was taken to organize a national guard promptly, and in addition a change took place in the office of the Secretary of State when Pasquale Cardinal Gizzi, who had been opposed to such an institution, was replaced by Ferretti.[34]

The new Secretary of State, about whom Rossi wrote to Paris in complimentary terms, was likewise aware of the tenseness of the situation with rumors spreading about of a threatening invasion, of the Austrian army at the frontier of the Pontifical States, and more specifically of the garrison in Ferrara having been increased. Guizot applauded Pius' new steps toward reform and assured the Pope of France's full support, and he requested the ambassador to communicate both his own and Rome's ideas about future measures to be taken along the same path.[35] Actually, on the same day on which the French premier had dispatched his demand, Rossi sent a detailed report on the Roman situation.[36]

This memorandum opened with a survey of the events from the death of Gregory XVI leading up to June, 1847. Rossi emphasized

[33] AMAE, Rome, Jan., 8; April, 28; June 12, 18, 1847; Guizot, May 22, 1847.

[34] AMAE, Rome, July 3, 8, 18 Réservé, 1847; cf. Rossi's report July, 18, in Guizot, *loc. cit.*, VIII, 368 f.

[35] AMAE, Rossi, July 18, 23, 1847; Guizot, July 28.

[36] July 28, 1847. The memorandum has been printed in the appendix of Ledermann, *loc. cit.;* I refer here to the text in the AMAE.

the development of a national party in Italy. Differing from Metternich's ideas, he dismissed the activity of the Italian émigrés as negligible and insisted on the prominent part being played by members of the clergy ("les Ventura, les Lorini, les Mazzani, les Gallazzi") in the education towards *l'Italianité*. The Italians—he wrote—had returned to the federative concept; those favoring centralism were neither numerous nor influential any more. In addition to the national party, the ambassador perceived a reform party to be in existence and both parties kept their eyes turned toward Pope Pius. Rossi thought that the Pope should co-operate with them on the path of moderate reform, with the backing of France in silent opposition to Austria. To achieve this aim Pius should have started by dismissing all unpopular officials and then established a council of ministers and introduced a consultative council of state (*conseil d'état*). To Rossi's mind, Pius should have imposed uniformity in the administration of the provinces and have improved the municipal regime, especially in Rome. It had been and still was most urgent that there should take place a thorough reform of the jurisdiction in the Pontifical States and a revision of both codes, civil and criminal. But both courage and insight had been wanting. Meanwhile France had been in no position to intervene directly. Pius still felt himself to be first of all a bishop, and only in the second place did he consider himself a king. Furthermore, he was possessed of a typical priestly susceptibility that took alarm at, and was hurt by, any slightly rude intervention coming from a layman.

Certainly, it had been of great importance for France not to have alienated the head of the Church. On the other hand, by not protesting against what was done in Rome, France had assumed in the eyes of the Italians a share of the responsibility of the papal government. This was the reason why the French ambassador had repeatedly felt compelled to urge a strong, true government following a clear program of reforms. "But our advice," Rossi remarked, "though always listened to, was carried out only in a weak and imperfect way." True, Pius had rejected, as was suggested, the plans of the national-centralist party, but very little had been done to grant the wishes of the reform party. Thereby it was stated "a unique situation was wasted. Never had a prince found himself more the master than Pius had been during the first eight months of his pontificate. Whatever he had chosen then to do would have received an enthusiastic re-

sponse." But by the summer of 1847 the patience of his people had come to an end, and the announcements of June proved a disappointment. If no real disorder occurred the merit for this, Rossi continued, should be credited to "the natural dignity and the moderation" of the Roman people.

With the resignation of the weak, hesitating, and inactive Pasquale Cardinal Gizzi as Secretary of State and the appointment as his successor of Gabriele Cardinal Ferretti, a man popular and full of zest, and with the grant of the national guard, the hour of the moderates had arrived. To the French ambassador it was a most auspicious fact that the new secretary seemed willing to make concessions in the question of the secularization of government and administration. Yet it still continued to be necessary that Pius should follow a clearly conceived plan, and by 1847 more was required than would have been needed in the previous summer, namely, more concessions to the laymen in the administration, in the formation of the council of state, and in the economic sphere. Rossi maintained that the Pope had the very best disposition toward France. But on the other hand, France must be willing to encourage and to assist him in his present difficulties, as he had a right to expect it to do; it must be ready, in other words, to help him efficiently if such help should be requested. If sufficient assistance were not given, then, the ambassador concluded his report, danger might develop and the Pope, disappointed in his hopes, would turn to the side of the opponents of France. Although Rossi did not say so, he evidently meant that Pius would side with the Austrians and the reactionaries. The first thing needed at the moment (as the ambassador saw it) was the sending of a sufficient number of rifles to equip the national guard.

Rossi's memorandum provides an example of what Metternich had in mind when, two months earlier, he complained to Guizot that the French diplomats in Rome and Florence were preaching liberalism, and that the government in Paris ought to stop this activity. "Both, Pope and Grand-Duke," he said, "should be requested to govern; liberalism then will come by itself."[37] Guizot sent a special agent on a secret mission to Vienna in order to discuss a number of questions which included the Italian and, of foremost importance, the Roman problems. It was while analyzing this mission that the Austrian chancellor referred to Italy as "a geographical denomination," void of a

[37] Metternich to Apponyi, May 25, 1847, *N.P.*, VII, 327.

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political meaning. To Metternich political value could be attributed only to the concrete single states which composed the peninsula.[38] The chancellor once more pointed out in this dispatch the shocking weakness exhibited by the governments of all the Italian states, among which in this respect he considered the Pontifical States to be prominent. "Everything in this state," Metternich exclaimed, "is lacking in strength, the government as well as the population!" As it was impossible to rule a foreign state, advice should, therefore, be given to Rome; and what kind of advice could prove more efficient there than that which the two Catholic great powers would impart in common, if only they might bring to a halt their rivalry at the papal court. Vienna, he concluded, would welcome any kind of suggestion coming from Paris for such co-operation.

This correspondence which the two foremost and characteristic representatives of the Restoration period exchanged on the very eve of their political activities, being brought to an end by a revolutionary overthrow, is truly remarkable. In his answer[39] Guizot stated that to him, as to the chancellor in Vienna, the social question had become paramount. "Europe today is not in need of this or another diplomatic rapprochement," he said, "but of one and the same policy to be carried out jointly: two policies of order and conservatism do not exist." France was then disposed to follow a conservative policy, in spite of the fact that this nation was apparently still prey to many oscillations; yet these became more and more weak and short like those of a pendulum that tended toward fixation.

To this Metternich replied once more in a similar vein. "Politics in our time did not seem to me to be able to answer the problems of our age"; "thus, I became a conservative socialist. Conservative principles may be applied to the most different situations. I fully agree with you: Europe is in need of one policy; there are no two policies of order and conservatism." And while Guizot had written of France that on her surface a revolutionary current was discernible, but that in reality the conservative prevailed, Metternich

[38] Metternich to Apponyi, April 12, 1847, *ibid.*, VII, 388 ff.; cf. same to same, August 6, 1847: "L'Italie est une expression géographique. La Péninsule italienne est composée d'Etats souverains et indépendants les uns des autres."

[39] Guizot, August 18, 1847, *ibid.*, VII, 395 ff.; cf. Guizot to Rossi, May 7, 1847; "Nous sommes des conservateurs décidés . . . mais en même temps . . . des conservateurs sensés et intelligents." Guizot, *Mémoires* . . . , VIII, 352 f.

thought that this observation was pertinent for all of Europe.[40] Yet, in the Pontifical States, as the chancellor repeatedly stated, the revolution had triumphed since 1847. The legal authority being paralyzed since then, it mattered little that the Pope actually did not want to continue with his activity of reforms—a big difference, the prince wrote, existed between being willing and being able to do something.[41] In a private letter to his ambassador in Paris the Austrian chancellor was more explicit: "With every day Pius shows himself deprived of any practical mind," he said. And he continued, "With a warm heart, but weak in conception, he allowed himself from the day of his election to become entangled in a network from which he can not extricate himself. If things follow their natural course, the Pope will be driven out of Rome. What then will happen, no one can foresee."[42] In these words was to be heard more than the passionate reaction against the protest launched against the extension of the Austrian occupation in Ferrara, a protest which—as Lützow reported[43]—had been the Pope's personal work. The statesman who had just spoken of himself as a conservative socialist, saw that social order for which he stood threatened even by the supreme authority of the Church. His fears were aroused, not so much by the actual content of the reforms as by that "mania" for continuously granting something. Had not Rossi reported a word that Pius had said to him: "I want no one to climb these stairs without obtaining something"?[44] To Metternich such an attitude went far beyond the permissible limits set to a ruler's kindness. And the Austrian ambassador echoed: "Pius' greatest enemy as a sovereign is his heart."[45]

"The true state of minds," Rossi reported in the fall of 1847, "is alarming but not desperate";[46] and he added that what he termed the prudent policy of Guizot was being passionately attacked through-

[40] Metternich to Guizot, June 15, 1847, *ibid.*, VII, 397 ff.; for the distinction Metternich made between "questions sociales" and "questions politiques" cf. Lettre particulière to Lützow, January 2, Rapport Rome 1848, II.

[41] Metternich to Guizot, October 13, 1847; *ibid.*, 399 f.; to Apponyi, August 6, *ibid.*, 410 ff.; October 7, *ibid.*, 420 ff.; November 2, *ibid.*, 434 ff.; October 19, *ibid.*, 399 ff.

[42] Metternich to Apponyi, October 7, *ibid.*, 336 f.

[43] St.A., August 12, 1847, Réservé, Rome Varia, 1847, Affaires de Ferrara.

[44] AMAE, July 28, 1847.

[45] St.A., Lettre particulière, May 15, 1847.

[46] AMAE, October 10, 1847.

out the Italian peninsula. It was the period when many Italians resented the apparent betrayal by the French government, accused of becoming more and more conservative, even more violently than they resented the stand taken by the Austrians. Guizot, painfully aware of this attitude, expected the Italian governments—and first among them the Holy See—to speak out against such radicalism. "In his interest more than in our own," he said, "we should like the Pope to pronounce what is undoubtedly in his thought, that the attacks directed against France are based on absurd calumnies."[47] This was the advice that the French ambassador was supposed then to give at the papal court.

Rossi pressed for a larger amount of secularization in the temporal government; he perceived in the address that the *Consulta* tendered to the Pope the first serious expression of that conservative-liberal party which he still considered to form the vast majority of the country. He spoke of Giacomo Antonelli, then president of the *Consulta*, in favorable terms as an enlightened, modest man, who well understood the importance of his functions.[48] But by the end of the year he grew sceptical again, although he considered that the *motu proprio* concerning the reorganization of the council ministers gave evidence of enlightened liberalism. Still he could not conceal from himself that the general excitement in Rome, as well as in the rest of the peninsula, went on increasing.[49] On the other hand, since the Pope, too, proved to be well aware of the dangers ahead, the French ambassador remained hopeful that dangers foreseen so well could still be forestalled.[50]

The attitude of the Austrian diplomats was a different one. To them the revolution in the Pontifical States had been in full swing ever since July, 1847, the time at which the national guard had been called into existence, and Count Lützow explained the decay of the temporal power, its "perdition," as a consequence of the activity of the French government and of the influence of Rossi.[51] Even if the Sovereign Pontiff should succeed through specially favorable circum-

[47] AMAE, Guizot, November 15, 1847.

[48] AMAE, Rossi, November 18, 28, 1847.

[49] AMAE, Rossi, December 18, 31, 1847; January 8, 1848.

[50] AMAE, January 18, 1848.

[51] St.A., Metternich to Apponyi, October 19, Weisungen Rome, 1847; Rapports Rome, August 31, 1847, II.

stances in stopping the revolutionary trend within his states, the consequences would, nevertheless, be enforced upon him from abroad, the chancellor insisted.[52] Metternich, however, would have agreed with Guizot's statement that what was to be feared in Italy was less the vehemence of the revolutionary spirit than the weakness of the spirit of the governments.[53]

The attitude that the prince-chancellor took in 1848 is known. At the beginning of this year Metternich wrote to Lützow: "I prefer the day to the night whatever the day may bring." And he was convinced that after 1847, that year full of confusions, 1848 would bring the light, and in some way put an end to a revolution that had endured for fifty-nine years; a month later, he added: "it is our task to outlive the evil." Under the pretense of a secularization of the temporal power the radical faction, he maintained, in fact "aims at the overthrow of the Pontifical Throne and of the existing social order."[54]

The Austrian ambassador felt less and less at ease at the papal court; he was aware that Pius still had no confidence in him and that the revolution was making progress with what he termed "giant's steps." After the revolt broke out in Palermo, the relations with Vienna deteriorated even further, and no effort was made to conceal the aversion felt against Austria. "A crisis is imminent,"[55] said Lützow. In the Pope's eagerness to remain popular, and because of an outspoken liberal trend of his character, Lützow reported by the end of February that Pius had fallen prey to a manifest anti-Austrian attitude.[56] Yet, at that time Pius complained to Rossi about the trends which tended toward a war with Austria, an event that would spoil and ruin everything.[57] The intimate relations between the Pope and the French ambassador continued during the early months of 1848.

The events occurring in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies gave special concern to the Pontiff, and Rossi, too, held that there in the south

[52] St.A., Metternich, Lettre particulière to Lützow, November 20, 1847, Weisungen Rome.

[53] St.A., Guizot to Metternich, France, Varia 1836-48, November 7, 1847.

[54] St.A., Lettre privée Metternich to Lützow, January 2; February 3, 1848; Rapports Rome, 1848, II.

[55] St.A., February 6, 10 B, 1848.

[56] St.A., Rapports Rome, February 22, Chiffre, February 27 A, 1848.

[57] Rossi to Guizot, February 28, 1848; quoted by Mastellone, *loc. cit.*, 97.

and in the Austrian provinces in the north were the two main danger spots of the peninsula. While the ambassador was afraid that the Roman people might follow suit, if the revolution were to continue in other Italian states, he felt confident that Rome would not give the signal for an outbreak. Pius specially feared the results which the constitution granted by the King of Naples on February 10 would have in his own states, and the French ambassador agreed that the nature of the government in the Pontifical States was by necessity *sui generis,* offering most difficult and delicate political problems. When the Pope expressed concern over the possibility of an invasion by revolutionary bands, Rossi assured him that he could be confident of the military support of France in such an emergency.[58]

It would certainly be of supreme interest to watch closely the attitude of Pius IX toward the events of early 1848, but the reports of Rossi offer but few insights in this regard. By the end of January the ambassador was impressed by the political wisdom and the intellectual serenity of the Pontiff. But again he was soon to complain concerning the slowness shown by the Pope in granting more concessions and specifically in carrying further the secularization of the government. When the news that the King of the Two Sicilies had promised a constitution reached Rome, Rossi presented himself to the Pope to urge upon him the formation of a new strong government with three or four laymen participating in it.[59] "Luckily," Rossi went on to say in his report referring to the Romans, "this people resembles no other one, so admirable has it been in its moderation and docility." Even the manifestations that took place following the dissemination of the news that a constitution was promised to the Neapolitans, were in Rome but a popular festivity. Yet, even so much "sagesse" might not be without limits, and, due to the inactivity of the government, the moderate party was already left without direction; thus, it actually did not know what it wanted, while the radicals were very well aware of their ends. The latter continued to press for war against Austria, however much the Pope might reject this project as he did any concession that he considered incompatible with his spiritual duties. By February 14 Rossi thought it had become imperative for Rome to

[58] AMAE, Rossi, January 28, 1848, Réservé.

[59] AMAE, Rossi, February 8, 1848. Thus far only one layman, Prince Pompeo Gabrielli, had been appointed; he was made minister of war in the middle of January.

follow in the wake of those Italian states that had granted large concessions, the most important being constitutions.

The public spirit, he reported, had of late grown more excited and he added, "The situation is less favorable today."[60] Again, three days later he considered it grave and that the danger was still increasing. Everything in Italy seemed to help the radicals while the moderates merely allowed themselves to be carried along. Therefore, to grant a constitution in Rome had become a necessity.[61] The serious difficulty standing in the way of doing so sprang—as had already been mentioned—from the special nature of the Pontifical States. How could the spiritual and temporal affairs be properly separated from each other? How should the Pontiff be separated from the king? Likewise with regard to this question, the ambassador thought, too much time had been allowed to pass away in its consideration and the situation had thus become more exacting. But he felt equally strongly that if this problem were once settled, the Church would thereby win more in the realm of moral power than she could possibly lose in the temporal field. "Rome is quiet, the provinces are less so," he wrote, and he continued, "It is a period of transition, certainly not void of peril. At this moment the constitutional question has overshadowed every other problem in Rome." Thus Rossi concluded his final report as ambassador, for by the time he wrote it the Orléans Monarchy had ceased to exist.[62]

It was only in those days when the news of the February revolution had reached the capital of the Pontifical States, when Pius and his government were struck with terror after having put unlimited confidence in the political wisdom of King Louis Philippe and his minister, that the Secretary of State, Giuseppe Cardinal Bofondi, turned for advice to the Austrian ambassador. Lützow, lacking full information about the French situation, contented himself by pointing out the difference in the character of the revolutions of 1830 and 1848: the political order had been threatened in July; now by February the social order itself was at stake.[63] In Rome it was then believed that in the collapse of the July monarchy could be seen what was called "une main vengeresse" which augured badly for the future of the temporal power. The public animosity soon turned against Austria once more. When the Roman populace learned about the happenings

[60] AMAE, Rossi, February 14, 1848.
[61] *Ibid.*, February 17, 1848.
[62] *Ibid.*, February 28, 1848.
[63] St.A., Rome, March 5, A, 1848.

of the March revolution in Vienna, the palace of the Austrian embassy was attacked and the imperial emblems insulted, while the papal government did not dare to interfere. "The reins of the Government have fallen into the mud," Pius IX admitted to the General of the Jesuits, the order he was to "suspend" a few days later.[64] Not only did the Pope not attempt to stem the tide, but in the manifesto of March 30 he almost co-operated, referring "to the voice of God clearly to be heard in the tempest which in the last two months has unearthed the cedars and the oaks," which has overthrown so many proud reactionary governments. "Homme vain, avide de popularité," Lützow commented. "One must by conviction and principles be the enemy of Austria in order to speak such a language and to choose this moment to address the Italian population in such a way," the ambassador reported, and he added: "not being able to excommunicate Austria, the revolt receives authorization and is transmuted into a crusade."[65] On May 16 Lützow departed from Rome after the Pope had taken leave of him in cordial terms.[66]

"The whole problem in the Pontifical States," Rossi had written in his typical liberal optimism,[67] "boils down to the task of separating the temporal from the spiritual sphere; if this is done, one may apply without inconvenience to the temporal sphere any form of government one might choose." The Austrian rival having disappeared, it remained the task of the French diplomats to impart proper advice to the papal government along this line. But this duty was not any longer incumbent on the busy hands of Rossi, for as the "Guizot diplomat" par excellence he had been relieved of his post by the February government of Paris.[68] Apart from the well known fact that the Pope called upon Rossi in the fall of that year to entrust to him the decisive part in the new pontifical government, two statements made by Pius IX in the following year give evidence that the Pontiff considered this Italian-French diplomat to have been his

[64] *Ibid.*, Rome, Chiffre, March 28.—The Jesuits left Rome on March 30-31, 1848. AMAE, Rapports Rome, April 8.

[65] St.A., Rome, March 31, C; and Postscriptum of April 2; April 18.

[66] *Ibid.*, Triest, June 4, 1848.

[67] AMAE (all the following documents are from the AMAE), February 17, 1848.

[68] March 8. Rossi received the letter on March 31; cf. Report April 1.

most capable and reliable political adviser,[69] which was "certainly no compliment to Cardinal Antonelli," added the French diplomat to whom the Pope made this remark. The representatives that the French republic sent to succeed Pellegrino Rossi were far from being republican radicals. Foremost among them was the new ambassador, the Duke d'Harcourt,[70] known for his monarchical loyalties, sincerely devoted to the Holy See, although certainly not a man easy to handle in his feudalistic sense of honor.

During April and May, 1848, the acting first secretary of the French embassy, Palamède de Forbin-Janson, went on complaining to Paris about the lack of decision and the vacillations of the pontifical government and its sovereign—the main controversial issue at that time being the pontifical participation in the war against Austria. But actually the diplomat did not offer the Pontiff and his government the benefit of any concrete advice. "Be it conviction, be it weakness," said Forbin-Janson, "Pius IX will continue to follow the path of liberty up to the moment when he will find himself face to face with the alternative either to resist or to be reduced to being but the bishop of Rome. Then he will resist because the Popes of all times have considered their power, even the temporal one, to be only a deposit which they are in no position to alienate: yet, what will resistance mean where force will be lacking?"[71]

When d'Harcourt arrived as ambassador in Rome the tension that had developed between the Pope and his government seemed to be approaching a climax.[72] In the beginning he, too, restricted his activity to watching and to reporting. However, by the beginning of

[69] "L'Italien rénégat." Cf. Liedekerke de Beaufort, *Rapporti delle cose di Roma*, ed. by A. M. Ghisalberti (Rome, 1949), p. 19; for similar epithets *ibid.*, p. 106 f. Both statements of the Pope in the report of Corcelle July 20, 1849, Mission Lesseps-Corcelle, Tome 991; for the personality and the work of Corcelle cf. *Lettres du Colonel Callier (julliet 1849-mars 1850)* publiées par A.-B. Duff et M. Degros (Paris, 1950); pp. x ff.—The words of Pius to Corcelle concerning Rossi: "C'était le seul homme d'Etat capable de soutenir toute une nouvelle politique que j'ai pu trouver . . . et on me l'a tué"; cf. also Liedekerke, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

[70] Gouvernement Provisoire to M. d'Harcourt, March 8. Toward the end of that month the Duke of Gramont, ambassador and minister of Napoleon III, seemed to be scheduled for the post in Rome, March 21.

[71] Forbin-Janson, June 10, 1848.

[72] d'Harcourt, June 28, 1848.

August, d'Harcourt reported to his government that he now frequently saw the Pope, who asked for his advice. The French diplomat had decided to use his influence in order to form a government composed of moderate liberals. In addition he favored Pius' taking up the cause of Italian national independence, even at the risk of going to war with Austria over this issue, and thus the period of French prevalence seemed to have returned to Rome. "It is on us that Pius IX bases his hopes,"[73] said d'Harcourt. From September on the French ambassador sent messages to Paris that embodied his view that the Pontifical States were in process of dissolution; two days after the assassination of Rossi at the opening of the Chamber, the French government sent M. de Corcelle in a special mission to Pius to offer the Holy Father the landing of a French expeditionary force at Cività-Vecchia.[74] "It is difficult," said d'Harcourt in summarizing his narrative of the events of November 15 and 16 in Rome, "to assist at a spectacle more sad and less honorable for the Romans."[75] The French ambassador, as it is known, put himself in those days at the disposal of the Sovereign Pontiff in order to prepare and to carry out in co-operation with the minister of Bavaria the Pope's flight to Gaëta. The day after that event the foreign minister of the French Republic sent d'Harcourt an order to offer Pius IX an asylum in France, and the ambassador admitted candidly his hope that the Pope would consider Gaëta only as a stepping stone on his way to that country.[76] With the Pontiff remaining in Gaëta, the problem developed whether—as he himself put it—"Pius IX was still and would remain Pius IX," or whether the Pope—as he was to formulate it another time—would be allowed in political questions to learn from experience.[77]

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[73] August 4.

[74] The Minister to d'Harcourt, November 17. This expeditionary corps had been called into existence by Guizot for the purpose of protecting the Pope; cf. his *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de mon temps*, VIII, 402 f.

[75] November 17.—An allusion to the possibility of a flight of the Pope in the near future is already to be found in this report: "cependant c'est là une chose qu'il ne faudrait pas ébruiter pour ne pas compromettre sa (the Pope's) situation."

[76] Bastide to d'Harcourt, November 26; d'Harcourt, Naples, November 30.

[77] "Pie IX restera Pie IX," the Pope to Rayneval in Gaëta; report Rayneval April 25; "l'expérience me doit-elle servir de rien?" *ibid.*, April 19, 1849.

MISCELLANY

PRESERVING A FORGOTTEN HERITAGE

By

H. L. McGill Wilson*

An article such as this is unusual for an historical journal which must generally concern itself with the past rather than peer into the future; but it is presented in order to focus attention on a situation which requires study and action.

There has recently appeared a work entitled, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Opalacher Missions* (Gainesville, 1951), which is the chronicle of the missions established in the seventeenth century by the Franciscans and others in the southeastern States of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. At great effort and with much scholarship the sites of some of these churches and religious houses have been located. In a few instances their foundations have been uncovered and some artifacts have been found. Except for the correspondence which passed between these missions and Spain, all else has been lost. Imagine what a difference it would have made for history and history-writing if these mission buildings had endured—or imagine what a joy they might be today, historically and artistically, if there were some portion of them remaining!

Fifty years ago the great churches and convents which the Franciscans built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in California and the Southwest were in a neglected condition. Some of them, too, were irretrievably lost. Yet the greater number have been saved, restored, and are today a part of our national heritage and in living service to the faith. In both the Southeast and Southwest the people of the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries by their indifference or carelessness were busy creating the mission remnants of 1900 and 1952. It is these remnants which we pride ourselves on having preserved. Now we, in turn,

* Mr. Wilson is a lawyer who has made a special study of the history and architectural design of old American churches. The question of what the American Catholic Historical Association might do to encourage the proper marking and repair of some of the leading Catholic sites and buildings in the country was discussed briefly by the Executive Council at its meeting in New York on December 28, 1951. As a result of the interest in this question the Committee on Program of the Association is planning a panel discussion on the subject during the annual meeting in Washington next Christmas week.

are busily engaged by our indifference of carelessness in preparing the remnants which will be the inheritance of 2052.

There would seem to be a curiously persistent disregard on the part of Americans—and in this particular matter of American Catholics—not only for the past but for the future. In some respects we are accumulating an even more deplorable record of neglect than that of the Americans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Our responsibility is greater because we are more aware of the nature of history and have seen perfected the necessary tools of research, as well as the methods of preservation and restoration. Yet, perhaps because our tremendous cities evoke a sense of mass and power which confers on them the illusion of solidity and permanency, we forget how rapidly they change and how quickly the evidences of the past are lost. We are oblivious to the possibility that Americans of some distant year (who will apparently have little difficulty in finding ample sites for excavation) will shake their heads over the lack of any remains and wonder at our carelessness.

There have been in the past few years some signs of a growing consciousness of the importance of our general architectural heritage. This has been evidenced by the formation of such groups as the National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings and the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, the latter group chartered by Congress. There is also the Society of Architectural Historians, an organization of scholars and specialists engaged in the study of the architectural past. These groups provide a central core to which local historical societies may turn for advice; and in the case of the National Trust, in certain circumstances, it affords a corporation to which properties may be conveyed for formal safe-keeping. Since ecclesiastical properties are conceived of as having a continuing church body interested in their welfare, it is primarily old historic houses and public buildings that absorb the attention of these groups. Thus religious structures are often the blind spot in preservation and restoration.

More popular interest is being awakened by the polls which some cities are conducting on their favorite historic buildings. In New York, for example, visitors to one of the museums are given an opportunity to vote for their favorite historical edifice. It would be interesting to know how many visitors ever consider a church structure as their favorite in respect to historical buildings. Yet this growing consciousness of our architectural heritage may run a losing race against the present trend in city growth, viz., the pressure toward the periphery of every metropolis. This results in department stores, homes, theatres, factories, leaving the old "downtown" area to dry rot and decay. The situation finally grows so bad that much of the downtown is wiped out to make way for public housing, public institutions, and express highways. And, of course, with that de-

molition there disappears as well, all too often, the important, the beautiful, old historic church structure. Or, if this does not immediately occur, the fine old edifice is left to struggle along, in the care of some devoted priest in an area where there are few if any parishioners. There it stands, disregarded, a great silent witness to what was, is, and will be, the heritage, of faith; often as well it is a silent witness to the neglect of the nation.

Some of these great old churches are not in danger. This is particularly true of the Greek Revival style churches, which were built in the period 1820-1850, and were so located as to be in proximity of great government or financial sections in a solid core of the downtown area. Such architectural gems as the great Cathedral of St. Peter in Chains in Cincinnati, probably done in the Greek Revival style by Henry Walters, architect of the Ohio capitol and one of the architects of our national capitol, will continue to be cherished and protected.[1] This is also true of St. Mary's Church, Nashville, originally the Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin of the Seven Dolors, designed by William Strickland, architect of the Tennessee state capitol and of the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia.[2] Our times have some affinity for the classicism of this style—romanticism in letters and architecture is not in keeping with our days. It is, therefore, particularly the Gothic Revival, and in some instances, the Romanesque Revival structures that are in danger of destruction.

Since the writer has been at work for some years on the career of Patrick Charles Keeley, distinguished and prolific designer of at least ten American Catholic cathedrals and hundreds of Catholic churches—the great majority in Gothic Revival style—he would point out that Keeley's first design, the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Williamsburgh, now Brooklyn, New York, erected in 1847, was as important a contribution to the contemporary architecture of that day as Trinity Church in Wall Street (Richard Upjohn) or Grace Church, 10th Street and Broadway (James Renwick, later architect of St. Patrick's Cathedral). Moreover, it was the thriving parish church of the prominent Father Sylvester Malone (1821-1899), and in the present century of the late Monsignor John L. Belford. This historic structure now, however, finds itself in a run-down area that looks somewhat as if it had passed through the London blitz. This sacred edifice, perhaps the first Catholic church in this country to be erected in the period of the American Gothic Revival, may be lost

[1] "St. Peter's Cathedral (1839-45) is one of the handsomest and most monumental of Greek Revival churches, its great square tower surrounded on three sides, like that of King's Chapel in Boston, by a Corinthian colonnade of twelve columns." Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America* (New York, 1944), p. 285.

[2] Agnes Eleanor Gilchrist, *William Strickland, Architect and Engineer, 1788-1854* (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 17.

because it does not have in its vicinity a large enough congregation to maintain it properly.

Another of Keeley's designs, the Church of the Assumption, built in 1848 and dedicated in 1849, still does good and sturdy work in its area in Philadelphia, but in a part of the city which does not now or for the future show signs of a great return to use as a residential section. Or again, there is in Manhattan a church originally built by German immigrants, it is believed from designs by Keeley, St. Nicholas in East Second Street, which is in a "lonely" position. There are many others, especially in the larger cities. In fact, some of them may have already disappeared since the writer last visited and examined them.

These fine old friends, these great churches of the Gothic and Romanesque Revival styles, are at present somewhat out of fashion with their large figure windows, striped slate roofs, heavy stone walls, or slender spires. All of them cannot be saved and many of them are not in danger. But it would seem desirable, especially in this year which marks the centennial of the death of Alfred Welby N. Pugin, the Catholic reviver of the Pointed (Gothic) style, that some action be taken looking toward a survey of these church structures whose continued service or very existence is threatened by the mobility of American life. All the considerations which might enter into the question of preservation, alteration, or elimination of the church edifices of blighted downtown city areas, in some cases run down into slums, cannot here be gone into. But let us mention a few. First and foremost for the ecclesiastical authorities to consider: whether the church structure can continue to serve a real need. There is ordinarily no desire or necessity to preserve a religious museum. Secondly, and here a consultant group of architects, artists, and historians could well serve, it might be asked: Does the church represent a memorial to a great priest or a great layman or to a religious activity which had its initiation there? Or does it have such architectural significance as to make its continuance desirable? Or does a combination of these factors exist? Thirdly, it should be ascertained, or at least carefully considered, whether such an edifice might at some future time again be very useful.

In this connection let us note the instance of St. James Church on the lower East Side of New York City, known often as the parish of New York's former Governor Alfred E. Smith and architecturally a fine example of the Greek Revival style. It was probably the work of Minard Lafever, one of the greatest of American architects of the period 1830-1850.[3] For decades this church was in the midst of what might have been

[3] "The old St. James's Church on James Street near Chatham Square is probably by him; its gallery front design appears in *The Beauties of Modern Architecture*, and the granite door with its delicately scrolled lintel cornice is purely in his style." Hamlin, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

described as a quasi-slum area. Now, with the coming of a new public housing project, this grand and beautiful old structure not only remains as an example of the church art and the life of our forefathers, but it again serves its people. Finally, if it is decided that a church structure is to be eliminated, should not some effort be made to memorialize it? This can be done by a bronze tablet, or better still, by depositing in the diocesan archives all of its historical records which might well include photographs of the structure.

Those who have read the history of the building of these old churches will recall the thrilling story of the manner in which many of them came into being. Thus Bishop (later Cardinal) John McCloskey wrote to the pastors of Albany at the time of the erection of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Albany, New York:

> Will you please notify your people that we are about to commence the work of excavation at the Cathedral, that we hope to have it done by gratuitous labor, and that there will not be wanting those among your congregation who will cheerfully devote two or three days to the work. Those who can bring horse and cart will confer a great favor by doing so.[4]

In the case of St. Patrick's Church of Norwich, Connecticut, some years later we read:

> A building fund was then established in order to render more certain a continuation of the work and on Good Friday, April 7, 1871, the men of the congregation, preceded by a band of music, with horses and carts, shovels and pick, and other implements of labor, marched to the site of the church and commenced the work of excavation. The work on the celler was completed after three days of unremitting toil.[5]

In scores of cases similar processions took place. The men of the parish with tools, carts, and horses assembled, attended a very early Mass and led by their pastor, marched to the site of the proposed church. There they, most of whom were poor manual laborers with nothing but their hands' work to sell, would labor all day, giving freely so that a church might rise.

There are some among us who enjoy tales of the construction of the great French cathedrals in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as undertakings of all the people of a community. But many of our contemporaries

[4] Christine Sevier, *History of the Albany Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, 1852-1927* (Albany, 1927), p. 6. The date of McCloskey's letter is not given but it was probably sometime in 1848.

[5] William Byrne *et al.*, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States* (Boston, 1899), II, 419. The section of this work dealing with the Diocese of Hartford was written by the Reverend James H. O'Donnell, pastor of St. John's Church, Watertown, Connecticut.

are blind to a similar occurrence in American history not more than a century (and often less) ago. If there ever was democracy in action this great era of American church building was it. These Catholic Gothic and Romanesque Revival style churches are, perhaps, among the finest tangible expressions of spontaneous democratic action preserved in this country, for both laity and clergy were of the people and their churches were erected by neither a plutocracy nor an aristocracy.

Recently an American writing of his travels in England remarked:

> My pilgrimages can be reproached as mere loitering, but there are two kinds of places I most relish for visit and search: churches and railway stations. In these devotions I have my choices; like the tombstone in Romsey Abbey, I am "a solid and nervous asserter of discriminating grace." A noble old tower, a fabulous yew tree with muitiple trunks clustered like a pipe organ, an epitaph that suggests double meanings, are discriminations of a desirable country church.[6]

The passage has, of course, no relationship to what should be the full attitude of a pilgrim to old churches, viz., not only of enjoying its historic and artistic values but of finding there what might be termed the patina of prayer, that air of peace and sanctity which is found only in an old church. Yet even in the instance of the secular-minded visitor, what results may not come from a visit to one or another of the ancient churches? But we must possess them in the first place. Since in the days when we were predominantly rural we were a small country, we are limited in our "desirable country churches," and, therefore, it is our city churches which best express our outstanding characteristics. But unless we take some such action as has been here suggested our lovely and historic city churches will, in too many cases, have disappeared, and with their disappearance we shall have lost a great national heritage.

Washington, D. C.

THE THIRTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, NEW YORK, DECEMBER 28-30, 1951

The Association's thirty-second annual meeting was held at the Hotel Statler in New York on December 28-30, 1951, in conjunction with the American Historical Association and its affiiliated societies. The attendance was much above the 1950 meeting in Chicago with 141 registrations and 110 persons present at the presidential luncheon on Saturday, December 29. The session on "Cardinal Manning's England" drew nearly 100, the business meeting about seventy, and the joint session with the

[6] Christopher Morley, "Lucky Dip," *Saturday Review of Literature*, XXXV (January 12, 1952), 18.

American Historical Association which closed the meeting on Sunday morning, December 30, had an attendance of nearly 200.

The Executive Council held its meeting at luncheon on the first day. The reports of the various committees and officers were presented at the business meeting on December 29 and can be read in this issue of the REVIEW. In addition to the regular business our readers' attention is called to a new project of the Association, namely, a committee to direct the collection and editing of the papers of Archbishop John Carroll. This is explained more fully in the Notes and Comments section of this issue.

The first afternoon witnessed the session on Manning's England with Dr. Herbert C. F. Bell of Middletown, Connecticut, in the chair and the two principal papers being read by Edward Gargan of Boston College on "The Direction of English Thought in the Nineteenth Century" and Georgiana P. McEntee of Hunter College on "Cardinal Manning: Social Reformer." The discussion leaders were James A. Reynolds of Archbishop Stepinac High School of White Plains, New York, and Gerald Sherry, formerly of the staff of the *Catholic Universe* of London, who substituted for Robert Wilberforce of the British Information Services of New York. Mr. Wilberforce was prevented by illness from attending. The luncheon on Saturday, December 29, had Tibor Kerekes of Georgetown University as chairman, and Monsignor Cartwright, treasurer of the Association, presented on this occasion the John Gilmary Shea Prize of $200 to Father George W. Paré of the Archdiocese of Detroit for his volume, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888*. The presidential address of Dr. A. Paul Levack of Fordham University, "Edmund Burke, His Friends, and the Dawn of Irish Catholic Emancipation," which appeared in the January issue of the REVIEW, was then read.

The closing meeting on "Trends in Humanism," the joint session with the American Historical Association, convened on Sunday, December 30, with Professor Joseph R. Strayer of Princeton University in the chair. The two papers were read by Professors Martin R. P. McGuire of the Catholic University of America on mediaeval humanism and Crane Brinton of Harvard on modern humanism. The discussion was led by Franklin L. Baumer of Yale University and the place of Gerald G. Walsh, S.J., of Fordham who died on December 17, was taken by Vincent C. Horrigan, S.J., of Georgetown University.

The thirty-third annual meeting of the Association will be held at the Hotel Mayflower, Washington, December 28-30, 1952. The reports of the officers and committees for 1951 follow.

Report of the Treasurer:

ACCOUNT I—GENERAL FUND

Investments—December 15, 1950	$5,858.44
Cash on Hand—December 15, 1950	$ 4,193.78

Receipts:			
Annual dues		5,475.50	
Income from investments		366.30	
Registration fees of annual meeting (1950)		128.82	
Donations		8.50	
Total		$10,172.90	$5,858.44
Disbursements:			
Office expenses:			
Rent of office and telephone service	$ 74.00		
Supplies and sundry	199.75		
Secretary's salary	1,247.15	$1,520.90	
Annual meeting expenses (1950)		141.81	
John Gilmary Shea Prize		200.00	
Catholic Historical Review		3,421.00	
Exchange on checks		1.06	5,284.77
Balance on Hand, December 15, 1951			$ 4,888.13
Investments, December 15, 1951			$5,858.44

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

PUBLICATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

Cash on Hand—December 15, 1950			$1,770.14
Receipts:			
Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States*	$36.50		
Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States	36.00	72.50	
Total Receipts			$1,842.64
Disbursements:			
None			
Balance on Hand, December 15, 1951			$1,842.64

* * * * *

SUMMARY

Investments—Account I		$5,858.44
Cash on Hand:		
Account I	$4,888.13	
Account II	1,842.64	
Total cash on hand	$6,730.77	

INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

Interest:		
Morris and Essex	$ 70.00	
New York Central and Hudson River RR.	70.00	$ 140.00
Dividends:		
Bank of America	$148.80	
Montana Power	77.50	226.30
		$ 366.30

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

Report of the Committee on Nominations:

President: Raymond J. Sontag, University of California, Berkeley
First Vice-President: John T. Farrell, The Catholic University of America
Second Vice-President: J. Joseph Ryan, St. John's Seminary, Brighton
Executive Council: for three-year terms to replace William A. Orton and Mary Lucille Shay:
William J. McDonald, Ohio State University
Anna T. Sheedy, College of New Rochelle

Committee on Nominations:
Martin J. Lowery, De Paul University, *Chairman*
Sister M. Marie McGowan, O.P., Barry College, Miami
John J. Tierney, S.S., St. Charles College, Catonsville

Committee on Program:
John H. Kennedy, Directorate of Intelligence, U. S. Air Force Headquarters, *Chairman*
J. Manuel Espinosa, Division of Cultural Co-operation, Department of State
Harry W. Kirwin, Loyola College, Baltimore

For a three-year term on the Committee for the John Gilmary Shea Prize:
Henry G. J. Beck, Seminary of the Immaculate Conception, Ramsey, New Jersey

Committee on Nominations, 1951,
JOSEPH G. DWYER, *Chairman*
Iona College
ROBERT E. CARSON, O.Praem.
Southeast Catholic High School, Philadelphia

Report of the Secretary:

The time has again come for the secretary to give an account of his stewardship, a task that is always rendered more pleasant when he can report increased support for the cause of Catholic historical scholarship which the Association has been trying to serve during the past thirty-two years.

When we met in Chicago last year I stated that the total membership then stood at 859 which was six above the highest number we have ever attained. During the year that is just closing we have raised that figure to 881. A summary of the membership follows:

Membership, December 15, 1950		859
Resignations	15	
Deaths	10	
Delinquents	51	76
		783
Renewals	15	
New members	83	98
Membership, December 15, 1951		881

This final figure is twenty-two above last year and shows, therefore, that the Association is more than holding its own. Although the number of new members for 1951 is eighteen less than the 101 who joined in 1950, this discrepancy was more than overcome by fewer deaths and delinquents this year and by only half the number of resignations which we suffered in 1950. Moreover, fifteen former members renewed their affiliation with the Association as against eleven for the previous year. The following members were taken in death during the last twelve months:

William H. Atherton
Most Reverend Hugh C. Boyle
Joseph Dunn
Sister Mary Eunice, O.S.F.
Colonel J. W. Flanagan
John G. Gruber
Albert J. Precourt
Most Reverend Joseph H. Schlarman
Right Reverend Michael J. Splaine
Reverend Gerald G. Walsh, S.J.

May their souls rest in peace!

I have thought that it might interest you to know the geographical distribution of our membership in order that you might be aware of where our chief strength lies.

The following figures will give you that information:

Alabama	3	New Mexico	2
Arizona	3	New York	137
Arkansas	1	North Carolina	4
California	30	North Dakota	1
Colorado	6	Ohio	51
Connecticut	15	Oklahoma	3
Delaware	1	Oregon	5
District of Columbia	94	Pennsylvania	58
Florida	4	Rhode Island	10
Idaho	1	South Carolina	3
Illinois	44	South Dakota	2
Indiana	33	Tennessee	1
Iowa	21	Texas	18
Kansas	8	Utah	1
Kentucky	15	Vermont	3
Louisiana	12	Virginia	10
Maine	2	Washington	6
Maryland	40	Wisconsin	29
Massachusetts	58	West Virginia	4
Michigan	30	Canada	9
Minnesota	27	Chile	1
Mississippi	2	England	3
Missouri	22	Hawaii	1
Montana	3	India	1
Nebraska	2	Ireland	1
Nevada	2	Mexico	2
New Hampshire	3	Puerto Rico	1
New Jersey	32	Total	881

Five areas have over fifty members each, viz., New York, the District of Columbia, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Ohio in that order.

The names and addresses of the eighty-three new members are as follows:

Reverend E. Robert Arthur, 1725 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Sister Helen Margaret Ayers, S.N.D., Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.

Reverend Roger Bartman, O.F.M.Conv., 1568 Hone Avenue, Bronx 61, New York

Mr. Frederick A. Benincasa, 100-12 199th Street, Hollis 7, New York

Mr. L. Léon Bernard, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana

Reverend John W. Bowen, St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore 1, Maryland

Most Reverend William O. Brady, 14 Riverview Heights, Sioux Falls, South Dakota
Sister Margaret Francis Brockamp, Briar Cliff College, Sioux City 17, Iowa
Mr. George A. Brooks, Eton Hall, Garth Road, Scarsdale, New York
Mr. Daniel S. Buczek, 2825 Claflin Avenue, Bronx 63, New York
Mr. James E. Bunce, 654 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn 13, New York
Mother Louise Callan, R.S.C.J., Maryville College, St. Louis 18, Missouri
Reverend Charles J. Carmody, Marygrove Retreat House, Garden, Michigan
Reverend James A. Caulfield, 9701 Old Georgetown Road, Bethesda 14, Maryland
Dr. Philip A. Caulfield, 8 West Lenox Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland
Mr. Joseph F. Clancy, 5 Blatchford Drive, Troy, New York
Right Reverend Gregory M. Cloos, 100 Scott Street, Joliet, Illinois
Most Reverend Thomas A. Conolly, 907 Terry Avenue, Seattle 4, Washington
Brother Gabriel Costello, F.S.C., Manhattan College, New York 71, New York
Very Reverend James E. Cowhig, 5207 43rd Avenue, Hyattsville, Maryland
Reverend Lowrie J. Daly, S.J., St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri
Most Reverend John F. Dearden, 5078 Warwick Terrace, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania
Reverend Martin W. Doherty, 822 Ellsworth Street, Albany, Oregon
Mr. Vincent M. Donovan, 269 Harrison Avenue, Jersey City 4, New Jersey
Most Reverend Joseph P. Dougherty, Box 901, Yakima, Washington
Miss Agnes Downey, Academy of the Holy Cross, Washington 8, D. C.
Sister Mary of the Immaculate Conception Duffy, S.N.D., Emmanuel College, Boston 15, Massachusetts
Most Reverend Joseph Lennox Federal, 333 East South Temple Street, Salt Lake City 2, Utah
Dr. Hans W. L. Freudenthal, College of Saint Teresa, Winona, Minnesota
Reverend Edward M. Gallagher, Saint Francis' Home, Dubuque, Iowa
Miss Jane Gannon, St. Cecilia's Academy, Washington 3, D. C.
Dr. Francis X. Gannon, Carroll College, Helena, Montana
Sister M. Lucy Geegan, Viterbo College, La Crosse, Wisconsin
Sister Mary Gemma, H.H.M., 4105 Bridge Avenue, Cleveland 13, Ohio
Mr. Joseph F. Greaney, 31 Levant Street, Dorchester 22, Massachusetts
Reverend George G. Hagmaier, C.S.P., St. Paul's College, Washington 17, D. C.
Very Reverend Philip M. Hannan, 619 Tenth Street, N.W., Washington 1, D. C.

Reverend Wallace K. Hermes, 4945 First Avenue S., Minneapolis 9, Minnesota
Sister M. Anthonita Hess, C.PP.S., Regina Heights, Dayton 6, Ohio
Reverend Timothy J. Holland, S.S.J., St. Joseph's Seminary, Washington 17, D. C.
Reverend James S. Honnen, 40 Cathedral Place, St. Augustine, Florida
Reverend Gregory C. Huger, S.J., Marquette University, Milwaukee 3, Wisconsin
Reverend Bernard Hrico, 940 Latimer Avenue, Ambridge, Pennsylvania
Right Reverend James A. Hughes, 691 Westside Avenue, Jersey City 4, New Jersey
Sister M. Patrick Jerome, O.P., Siena Heights College, Adrian, Michigan
Mr. Edwin T. Jones, 4269 North 44th Place, Milwaukee 16, Wisconsin
Reverend Stephen J. Kelleher, 560 Lincoln Avenue, Staten Island 11, New York
Right Reverend Eugene Kevane, 1011 Douglas Street, Sioux City, Iowa
Mr. Peter J. J. Kosiba, 941 W. Erie Street, Chicago 22, Illinois
Most Reverend Loras T. Lane, President, Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa
Mr. Emmet J. Leahy, 337 West 27th Street, New York 1, New York
Sister Mary Lois, Marycrest College, Davenport, Iowa
Reverend William B. McFadden, O.M.I., 391 Michigan Ave., N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Dr. Daniel D. McGarry, St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri
Reverend Aidan C. McMullen, S.J., 2652 Hudson Boulevard, Jersey City 6, New Jersey
Reverend Robert E. McNally, S.J., 1225 Otis Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Dr. Theodore Mackiw, 326 Clifton Avenue, Newark, New Jersey
Mr. Raymond J. Maras, 1505 Arch Street, Berkeley 8, California
Reverend Philip Mitchell, C.S.C., Holy Cross Seminary, Washington 17, D. C.
Reverend Richard Moudry, 3003 North Snelling Avenue, St. Paul 8, Minnesota
Mr. Arthur F. Murphy, 349 Amsterdam Avenue, New York 24, New York
Sister Miriam Ellen Murphy, College of Mount Saint Vincent, New York 71, New York
Reverend G. A. O'Rourke, St. John's Rectory, Bancroft, Iowa
Mr. Donald R. Penn, Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.
Miss Helen Philibert, 3402 Third Street North, Arlington, Virginia
Mr. Robert F. Quigley, 1033 South 51st Street, Philadelphia 43, Pennsylvania
Mother Mary Quinlan, 885 Centre Street, Newton 59, Massachusetts
Reverend Edward H. Roach, 6001 Western Avenue, Washington 15, D. C.
Mr. John E. Roche, 7806 Tenth Avenue, Brooklyn 28, New York

Reverend Joseph A. Rock, S.J., Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.
Sister St. Francis, C.S.J., Mount Saint Mary's College, Los Angeles 49, California
Most Reverend Maurice Schexnayder, St. Michael's Rectory, Crowley, Louisiana
Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, 525 W. Essese Avenue, Kirkwood, Missouri
Reverend William H. Shannon, 4245 East Avenue, Rochester 18, New York
Mr. Morrison Swift, 2825 Claflin Avenue, Apt 3M, New York 63, New York
Reverend Daniel J. Tarrant, Loras College, Dubuque, Iowa
Reverend Harry J. Tenhundfeld, 9 East 12th Street, Covington, Kentucky
Reverend Raymond J. Treece, Bellarmine College, Louisville 5, Kentucky
Mr. Fred Van Valkeburg, Regis College, Denever 11, Colorado
Sister Mary Virgina, S.S.N.D., College of Notre Dame of Maryland, Baltimore 10, Maryland
Reverend Edward R. Vollmar, S.J., St. Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri
Sister Mary Madonna Weigel, R.S.M., Mercy College, Detroit 19, Michigan
Reverend Ambrose Zenner, O.S.B., Mt. Angel Abbey, St. Benedict, Oregon

I am happy to say that the affairs of our quarterly journal, the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, have also gone well during 1951 in spite of the continuing high costs of printing and other handicaps. We have today 451 subscribers to the REVIEW, apart from those who receive it as members of the Association, and this figure is five above last year's total of 446. The exchanges have increased by four since 1950 to a total of 134 and when we add the memberships, subscriptions, and exchanges we get the grand total of 1,466 persons and institutions who receive our journal four times a year, an increase of thirty-one over last year's total. Another source of encouragement has been the gain in income from our invested funds which has been due to the wisdom and keen business sense of Monsignor Cartwright, our treasurer. The total of interest and dividends of $366.30 which he reported to you has enabled the Association to award the John Gilmary Shea Prize of $200 this year with a sum to spare which represents a considerably higher figure than the $137.50 which was reported two years ago this time from interest alone. We all owe Monsignor Cartwright a lasting debt of gratitude for this increase in the Association's revenues, a service which is only the most recent among the many favors which he has performed for us since that day in December, 1932, at Toronto when he submitted for the first time his report as treasurer of the Association.

During the year that is closing the editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW have received seventeen manuscripts for consideration, of which three have been published, two have been accepted for future publication, and twelve were rejected. We should not wish to give a false impression by this very high rejection figure. True, a number of these manuscripts did not meet the standards of scholarship which we felt should be maintained in our journal; but others were of high merit although so far removed from the history of the Church that we did not feel warranted in giving the very limited space at our disposal to articles which were not closely related to our main concern, the history of the Church both here and abroad.

This year the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize made the award and their selection was, I think, a very worthy one. Those of you who attended the presidential luncheon today recall that the prize went to Father George Paré of the Archdiocese of Detroit for his volume, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888*. Father Paré's book is a fine example of what a diocesan history ought to be and it deserves to rank with earlier works of the kind which have been published for the Archdioceses of Boston, Cincinnati, and St. Louis. In this connection our gratitude is due to Professor Paul Kiniery of Loyola University, Chicago, who again acted as chairman of the committee for the selection of the prize and to his two colleagues, Monsignor Harry C. Koenig of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, Mundelein, and Father Michael McCloskey, O.F.M., of Siena College, Loudonville, New York.

While on the subject of gratitude I must state that we are likewise deeply in the debt of Dr. Walter W. Wilkinson of Georgetown University for the intelligent and conscientious manner in which he directed the difficult labors of arranging our present program and here, too, we wish to thank his colleagues, Charles R. Gellner of the Library of Congress and Mrs. Annabelle M. Melville of St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg. To Mr. Joseph G. Dwyer of Iona College, New Rochelle, and his Committee on Nominations we wish to extend thanks, and to those who have rendered assistance to the Association by submitting names of prospective members to the executive office. In this respect special thanks is due this year to Father Patrick H. Ahern of St. Paul Seminary. To one and all, therefore, who have helped us in any way a very sincere "thank you" for your assistance and for your continued support of a cause which, we hope, may be doing its small part to hold high the reputation of the Catholic Church in scholarly circles. And with our thanks go our best wishes for a blessed and happy new year to you and to all the Association's friends with a final wish that we may all meet again in Washington in Christmas week of 1952.

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Alcuin, Friend of Charlemagne: His World and His Work. By Eleanor Shipley Duckett. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. xii, 337. $5.00.)

This scholarly study presents not only a vivid picture of Alcuin's activities but an excellent treatment as well of the history of the times in which he lived. In selecting Alcuin for study Professor Duckett chose a leading figure in early mediaeval history and literature. His influence was not limited to the eighth century, during which time he was the efficient agent in the educational revival of Charlemagne, but rather was felt in every plan of educational reform in what was to become the Holy Roman Empire.

Alcuin was essentially a schoolmaster. He was just such a schoolmaster as the age required. As an administrator and teacher he stimulated the interest and industry of pupils, men, and women of every rank. He made it his special duty, by personally supervising the copying of manuscripts in the *scriptorium* of the monastery, to transmit to future ages the precious treasures of knowledge. It is true that he was not an original thinker, but he was an unusual scholar. The schools which sprang up as a result of the impulse he gave to study, DeWulf tells us, continued to be philosophical centers up to the foundation of the University of Paris.

In the present work the author traces the life and work of Alcuin during his early years in England and in connection with his position as headmaster of the cathedral school of York; during his continental career when he was appointed by Charlemagne to act in the capacity of a state minister of education; and during the later period of his efforts as abbot of the monastery of Tours, which under his direction assumed a commanding position among the schools in the West. Two chapters, the one dealing with his interest in Frankish activities outside the palace and its school, the other treating of his writings for the Church, reveal his important role in ecclesiastical controversies and in social reorganization.

The author might have rendered greater service to students of educational history in the treatment of her subject had she devoted more space to a consideration of Alcuin's poem, *On the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York,* in which he gives a description of the studies pursued in the famous school of that city and the books in the library. Though much of its content is drawn from Bede, it also deals with men and events Alcuin himself had known, and is a valuable educational record.

Professor Duckett displays in this work as in her other scholarly studies an extraordinary knowledge of the early Middle Ages, and a deep penetration into and reverent attitude toward religious matters. Her well-documented and delightfully readable life of Alcuin should prove serviceable to the general reader as well as to students of mediaeval, theological, educational, and literary history.

FRANCIS P. CASSIDY

The Catholic University of America

The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England. By J. C. Dickinson. (London: S.P.C.K. 1950; New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. vi, 308. $4.00.)

One of the most intricate and least successfully attacked problems of the Middle Ages is that of the origin and history of the various religious orders and congregations. This may seem something of an anomaly when one considers what a tremendous role regulars played in that period. The Reverend Mr. Dickinson has endeavored to fill one of the gaps in this field by investigating the origins of the Austin Canons. A general survey of the beginnings of the canons regular in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and Spain in the eleventh, and their expansion in the twelfth century, introduces the discussion. The listing of foundations and an evaluation of the various motives and influences surrounding their establishment indicate a thorough familiarity with continental sources and literature. The author is particularly anxious to clarify the use of the central term *canonicus regularis* and to trace the genesis of the influence of the rule of St. Augustine.

The discussion of the introduction and growth of the Austin Canons in England in the eleventh and twelfth centuries constitutes the main burden of the work. The author has examined a large number of manuscripts in order to determine the founders, the date and place of foundation, the parent abbeys or priories, and the observances of the religious houses. The early relations of the Austin Canons with the secular clergy seem to sustain the conclusion that regular canons were instituted primarily to maintain the common life and the daily horarium of liturgical exercises, rather than to attend personally to the *cura animarum.*

A list of the surviving English cartularies and their transcripts (Appendix IV), and a handlist of independent houses of Austin Canons in England (Appendix V) are important contributions. The author's exposition and summary of the present status of the textual history of the rule of St. Augustine (Appendix I) represents a scholarly treatment of a highly controversial subject. While he is generally quite restrained in his conclusions his occasional easy generalizations and *obiter dicta* are less

sound, e.g., St. Augustine did not change his ideas on monastic poverty, nor did he demand that the secular clergy renounce private property (p. 12); "Manichaean Christianity" (p. 12) closely resembles the "square circle;" oversimplification might even more appropriately be applied to the author himself (p. 176). In addition to five appendices a satisfactory index completes this admirable synthesis.

ALBERT C. SHANNON

Merrimack College

The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket. Being the Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in Hilary Term, 1949. By David Knowles, F.B.A. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1951. Pp. 190. $2.50.)

The erudite author of *The Monastic Order in England* and *The Religious Orders in England* has made a new contribution to the history of the celebrated Becket case in these lectures, which he has annotated for publication. Drawing largely upon the *Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket* in the Rolls Series, he has elicited from his sources everything which will throw light on the character and activities of what he is pleased to accept as "the most distinguished bench of bishops in English history." Insisting "that concentration on the actions and words of the archbishop alone, and the virtual relegation of his colleagues to the position of a chorus, if not of a conspiracy, has helped, in almost every recent account, to throw his figure out of historical perspective," he adds, "It is only when we watch the attitude and consider the opinions of the other bishops, both before, during and after the great meetings of 1163-4, that we can see how many elements of the controversy, and how many of the views expressed, were the common property of all, or at least of most, of the school-trained ecclesiastics of the day, and how many were peculiar to Archbishop Thomas" (p. 5).

The first two chapters, therefore, discuss the life and background of the fifteen colleagues of the Archbishop of Canterbury, with many a pungent characterization to set them in perspective. Chapter III shows the actions of the bishops at the all-important Councils of Westminster, Clarendon, and Northampton, and the next chapter follows the conduct of the bishops from 1164 to the death of Thomas in 1170. The last chapter is a piercing discussion of the policy and principles at stake in the controversy, particularly as viewed by Thomas and Gilbert Foliot. Seven appendices, made up of tables or discussions of collateral problems, complete this little work. To this reviewer the masterful ten-page essay (Appendix VIII) on the authenticity of the letter *Multiplicem nobis* by Gilbert of London has settled one minor problem for our generation, if not for all time.

This little book is a gold mine of new ideas. Carefully conceived and painstakingly executed, it leaves the reader with a genuine admiration for the historical acumen and dispassionateness of the author. Roger of York and Gilbert Foliot have not been whitewashed; but they and all the bishops concerned in the controversy have emerged as intelligible participants. No future work on the Becket case can safely ignore this book.

HENRY A. CALLAHAN

Boston College

Geschichte des Konzils von Trent. Band I: *Der Kampf um das Konzil.* By Hubert Jedin. (Freiburg: Verlag Herder. 1949. Pp. xiv, 644. 26.-D.M.)

The first volume of Monsignor Jedin's long awaited, monumental history of the Council of Trent takes us along the arduous road to the opening of the curtain, the first session of December 13, 1545. Three volumes are to follow: the second will describe the period from 1545 to 1552, in which the activities of the council were bound up with, and overshadowed by, the policies of the Emperor Charles V; in volume three the history of Pope Pius IV's council, 1561-1563, will be told; volume four will contain a study of the effects of the Tridentine reforms in the life of the Church, a detailed bibliography, chronological tables, and a list of the fathers and other members of the great assembly.

The name of Dr. Jedin has been familiar to historians for more than twenty years as that of an outstanding authority on the history of the Reformation period. Reared in the tradition of the Goerres-Gesellschaft and himself a collaborator of its great corpus of texts, the *Concilium Tridentinum,* Dr. Jedin has contributed probably more than any single living scholar to our knowledge and understanding of the religious history of the sixteenth century. In numerous books and articles he has dealt with many of its leading personalities and events; he has uncovered, edited, and evaluated new source material, analyzed the literary production, theological and otherwise, of the age, and discussed the various aspects of its reformatory work. He has given us thoughtful studies on fundamental problems relating to the council and the Catholic reform, as well as detailed investigations in the conciliar historiography from the seventeenth century to the present time. It was to be hoped that one day he would crown his life-long labors by writing an authoritative history of the Council of Trent, for—to use his own words (p. v)—the world has been waiting ever since the days of Sarpi and Pallavicini for a work that would rise above the pattern of recrimination and apology. With the volume under review the author sets out to fulfill our hopes.

The Struggle for the Council consists of two parts of unequal length but equal importance. Book One, "Council and Reform from Basle to the [V] Lateran Council" (pp. 1-132), retraces the ups and downs of conciliar ideas and reformatory trends in the century that began with the restoration of the Papacy and ended with Luther's frontal attack; Book Two, "Why so Late?" (pp. 135-462) deals with the antecedents proper of the opening of the council. The footnotes are assembled at the end (pp. 463-628) and testify to the author's unexcelled command both of the immense source material, published as well as unpublished, and the ever-growing, pertinent literature.

The weighty chapters of Book One demonstrate forcefully that the work of Trent must be understood not merely as a reaction against Luther's overturning of the bases of faith and as a counter-reformation set over against the Protestant reforms. The council was all that, but it was equally the outcome of intrinsic tensions and trends of the preceding century. Whether the scattered efforts at a Catholic reform which ante-dated the revolt of the North might have issued in an effective self-renewal and purification of the house of God without the cataclysm of the great religious revolution is another question; Jedin rightly answers it in the negative. To be sure, not everything was dark in the state of the Church at the beginning of the sixteenth century, but Luther's success was largely made possible by the weakness and slackening of the genuine reform movements, by the failure of the Papacy to take the leadership in more than half-hearted measures, and by a widespread confusion concerning basic dogmatic concepts.

The survival of conciliarism after Constance and Basle gains a formidable importance in this connection. In its extreme form, as doctrine of conciliar supremacy, it paved the way for the radical denial of the hierarchical structure of the Church which we find in the Lutheran conception of "a free Christian council." But of no less interest are the more moderate shades and remnants of conciliarism which were latent in the teaching even of the curialist writers, above all of the canonists. These theories postulate, within the doctrinal system of papal supremacy, the general council as the ultimate remedy in a "case of necessity." Harking back to the glossators of the *Decretum Gratiani*, they survived far beyond the times of the schism and the conciliar epoch, to gain renewed impetus during the very period when the Renaissance Papacy had reached the zenith of external power and splendor. In retracing the tortuous paths of post-Basilean conciliarism, Monsignor Jedin gives us much more than a chapter in the history of ideas: the universal yearning for reform became identified in the minds of most men with the need for a council; yet fear of a conciliar *reformatio capitis* was largely responsible for the failure of the Popes, in Luther's day, to assemble the universal council when it was

more urgently needed than ever. Moreover, the uncertainty which resulted from the conflicting doctrines on the foundations of ecclesiastical authority was to overshadow the assembly of Trent itself to its end.

The greater portion of the book is taken up by the complicated and exasperating story of the quarter century which elapsed between Luther's challenge and the opening of the Council of Trent: the fateful years of bickering, half-measures, and indecision; of diplomatic and dynastic intrigue, of war alternating with armed truce; the lost years which allowed the religious innovations to consolidate into organized churches, backed by the political power of Protestant princes. This tragedy, which robbed the council, when it was finally convened, of all human hope to heal the rift in Christendom, is masterfully told. All the details of a source material, which is overwhelming by its sheer mass, come to life in a narrative which gives the endless minutiae historical coherence and meaning. The web of political, institutional, and psychological factors is integrated throughout with a searching analysis of the spiritual and theological developments. Dr. Jedin defends nobody's cause but that of the suffering Church. His detachment from all doctrinaire standards and emotional likes or dislikes enables him to do justice to all the actors in the great drama—the erring, the confused, and the ones who, with all their imperfections and failings, were called upon to save the old faith.

There are, for instance, some remarkable pages on the different ways on which Luther and, on the other side, Contarini were led by an almost identical inner experience of divine mercy. There is a well-balanced, detailed examination of the beginnings of reform at the Roman Curia. More than once in the account of the intricate diplomatic and ecclesiastical actions the reader catches a glimpse of the genius of Giovanni Morone, then still a young man but already one of the ablest servants of the Holy See, who later was to save the council in its greatest crisis, the deadlock of 1562-1563. To cite only one other example, there are throughout the book excellent interpretations of the chronic antagonism between Pope Paul III and Charles V, both of whom share so much of the responsibility for the belated opening of the council. As for the emperor, his greatest shortcoming was, perhaps, his lack of understanding for the primacy of theological truth; and Dr. Jedin's judgment of Paul III is best epitomized on page 355: "He was not the first pope of the Catholic Reform, but it was he who prepared its way. The sensitive ear of this superior mind heard the call of the times for Council and Reform, but the delicate, aristocratic hand of the old man—which we admire so much on Titian's portrait of 1543—was not vigorous enough to cut the threads that held his entire personality and the interests of the Curia tied to the Renaissance period of the papacy."

The anxious question, "Why so Late?" will be ever-present in the mind

of the student of the Council of Trent. It cannot be answered by a story of villains and heroes, nor by one of human robots moved by the inexorable laws of clashing ideologies. The historian can and must, as Monsignor Jedin has done so convincingly in this volume, measure the accomplishments and failures of free, human beings who are faced with the responsible task of transforming ideas into reality.

STEPHAN KUTTNER

The Catholic University of America

The Religious Foundations of Leveller Democracy. By D. B. Robertson. (New York: King's Crown Press. 1951. Pp. x, 175. $2.75.)

In this work Dr. Robertson examines the origins of the democratic ideas put forward by the Levellers in England between 1647 and 1649. His main thesis, that a religious motive lies at the root of all this ferment of opinion, is not altogether new, and might, indeed, be suspected *a priori* from the circumstances of the time. Yet his closely-documented study is valuable in view of attempts which have been made to read history backwards by assuming that the eighteenth-century philosophers were the lineal descendants of the democratic movement which manifested itself during the civil wars in England. He shows convincingly that this latter arose from the religious ideas of "left-wing Puritanism," and that, when it began to work itself out in the politics of the 1640's it still derived primarily from a religious urge. It arose, not from an abstract consideration of the rights of man, but from an application to politics of the doctrine of authority which had already been developed in theory and practice among the dissenting sects of England.

It is not easy to derive a satisfactory synthesis from the materials available, for the Levellers included many shades of opinion, and each man rated his opinion as good as his neighbor's—or rather, much better, for how could he gainsay the Spirit which spoke in him? Then, their expression was somewhat incoherent, for it came from men who prided themselves on lack of formal education, and spoke with more fervor than logic at a time of crisis. Finally, they attempted to make up for this by the frequency of their utterances. The civil war was the heyday of the pamphleteer, as John Lilburne's seventy-odd pamphlets show too clearly. If, in consequence, Dr. Robertson's pages are at times difficult reading, the blame must lie with his material rather than with his presentation.

PATRICK J. CORISH

St. Patrick's College
Maynooth

Louis XIV et les Protestants. By Jean Orcibal. (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1951. Pp. 192.)

In his latest work, M. Orcibal retells the story of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. In order to end the internal strife which had torn France for forty years, Henry IV had in 1598 extended to the French Calvinists a limited toleration. While the Catholics thought the king had granted too much, most of the Huguenots complained that he had not given enough. Under Richelieu the independent military might of the Huguenots was broken despite assistance given by the English. But the cardinal showed moderation in victory by granting an amnesty and by permitting the exercise of the Calvinist cult. During this period the power of Protestantism in France steadily declined. Mazarin continued the policy with like results.

Under Louis XIV the position of the Huguenots grew continually worse. Many of the privileges accorded by the edict were withdrawn. Conversions were encouraged by force and pecuniary grants as well as by argument and missionary effort. The Calvinists opposed defections caused by hope of gain by themselves ministering to the needs of their co-religionists. The efforts of missionaries had some success. Exteriorly the employment of dragoons to convert the Protestant population was very successful. Actually converts made in this way lacked conviction and many thought that the multiplication of sacrileges was the principal result.

Trusting in the number and sincerity of these "conversions," Louis XIV thought it no longer necessary to be satisfied with half-measures. On October 18, 1685, he revoked the Edict of Nantes in its entirety. Among other provisions, Protestant worship in public was forbidden, Protestant churches were to be demolished, and even services in private homes were prohibited. Apparently Louis XIV considered that he was only applying in France the intolerance practiced in Geneva, Holland, and Protestant Germany against Catholics. He also thought that he was rivalling Constantine and Charlemagne in their services to the Church. Actually the revocation not only did the Church no good but it provoked an emigration which weakened France, it revived French Calvinism, and occasioned harsher treatment of Catholic minorities abroad. With the coming of the enlightenment, it appeared ever more and more clearly as a fatal blunder.

M. Orcibal in his usual manner gives more space to footnotes than to his text. He also writes with his usual lack of relief. Equal importance is attributed to all elements in the story. He does, however, give a fuller treatment than is usual. His study of the efforts made to convert the Huguenots before the revocation contains much which is new.

Woodstock College EDWARD A. RYAN

Concilia Poloniae, Zródla i Studia Krytyczne: II. *Synody Diecezji Wileńskiej i ich Statuty;* III. *Synody Diecezji Luckiej i ich Statuty;* V *Synody Archidiecezji Gnieźnieńskiej i ich Statuty.* By Jakub Sawicki. (Warszawa: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warzawskie. 1948-1950. Pp. xi, 145; ix, 114; xv, 281. ZI 430; 600.)

Since the seventeenth century there have been voices raised among Polish scholars expressing an interest in a project envisaging a complete publication of synodal legislation of the Church in Poland. At the very first meeting of Polish historians in Cracow in 1880 this interest was revived and augmented when Canon Ignatius Polkowski took the initiative in his report entitled, "On the Necessity of a Complete Publication of Synodal Statutes, Provincial and Diocesan, for the Purpose of Deepening the Knowledge of Church Legislation in Poland." [*Scriptores rerum polonicarum* (Cracoviae, 1881), IV, 129-133.]

What the Poles have been hoping for in the last three centuries is now approaching realization, and that at a time when such accomplishments could hardly be expected. Besides the three volumes under review, others have already appeared, viz., Volume I containing the diocesan legislation of Cracow (1509), and Volume IV for the Diocese of Chelm which embraces the fifteenth century. The publication of the statutes of other Polish dioceses and a critical study of them are in preparation. The present rapid succession of publications inspires hope that considerable progress will be made toward the intended goal in the not distant future. Men of learning in Poland fully realize the source value of synodal statutes for general Polish history. Synods have been held in Poland from the time the country accepted Christianity. The history of the Catholic Church in Poland, of its institutions, organization, and laws is inextricably woven together with the political, economic, and social history of the Polish state so that a fuller knowledge of the latter cannot be obtained without a knowledge of the former. Canon law has particularly a great value for those who study the history of Polish law and the judiciary system of the state.

These volumes have been written under the most difficult circumstances, partially amid the occupation of Poland during World War II and after. The treasures of the Polish archives and libraries have been plundered, scattered, and burnt. The present need is for seeking them out, reorganizing them, and making inventories. In reference to the work on the legislation of Gniezno, the archives of the canons of Warsaw, where the documents of the Primates of Poland were stored, were completely burnt. Information had to be sought from other scattered sources. In reference to the legislative history of the Diocese of Luck, part of the work and collected materials was destroyed by fire and, therefore, had to be under-

taken anew. At one time two valises of historical materials were transported from Warsaw from a house which was soon to be destroyed.

The author, a layman, deserves high commendation for his work in this specialized ecclesiastical history. Had he made use of the *acta episcopalia* and the *acta officialia* in the case of Wilno, as well as Gniezno, it would have added a touch of perfection to his scholarly accomplishment.

STANISLAUS J. GRABOWSKI

The Catholic University of America

The History of the Popes. By Ludwig, Freiherr von Pastor. Translated by E. F. Peeler. Volumes XXXVI-XXXVII. (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1950. Pp xii, 513; xii, 458. $5.00 per volume.)

With these two volumes the English translation of Pastor's epical history of the Papacy in modern times approaches its conclusion. Three more volumes in English will be required to complete the sixteenth and final volume of the German edition. As almost every historian knows, this sixteenth volume was written by Dr. Wühr and Father Kneller of Munich and Father Kratz of Rome from notes left by Pastor at the time of his death. It was done with the same care and in the same spirit as Pastor's previous work, and there seems no solid reason for believing it should not be considered an integral part of his project. The thirty-sixth volume completes the pontificate of Benedict XIV (1740-1758), to which the thirty-fifth was exclusively devoted. The greater part of this volume, however, and all of the thirty-seventh are concerned with the pontificate of Clement XIII (1758-1769).

It is unnecessary at this point to do more than indicate the contents of these two volumes, for the same meticulous craftsmanship and the same prosaic style generally recognized as characterizing the previous volumes is maintained in these. (Perhaps a third of each volume is devoted to references and explanatory notes.) Peeler's translation appears quite faithful, and although it is far from scintillating English, still it is easily readable and is quite true to the spirit of the original work. Pastor's work is distinguished, as we all know, for its wealth of detail drawn from archival sources. The stress is quite properly on the dealings of the Papacy with the European powers and one, therefore, gets the impression of reading a history of ecclesiastical foreign policy, with only a last chapter given over to Clement XIII's "activities within the Church." From this wealth of detail, however, there emerges a clear picture of the Popes and other dignitaries of the mid-eighteenth century, and an adequate understanding of the apparently humanly impossible task they had of overcoming the anti-Roman and anti-religious forces of the century.

For the Catholic reader the material dealt with in these two volumes is depressing, because in the undulations of the history of the Church this is a period of sorry decline. Jansenism, treated in previous volumes, continues to occupy the Pope's attention in France and the Netherlands; Febronianism becomes a real threat within the Germanies to the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome; Gallicanism and "the Enlightenment" grow stronger during the pontificates of Benedict XIV and Clement XIII, and the Church vainly looks for capable defenders within its ranks. The Church, especially its "Roman aspects" such as the Papacy and the Jesuits, is everywhere on the defensive. Under such conditions, the two pontiffs are depicted as trying to placate the rulers of Europe in order to secure Caesar's protection against the intellectual and moral revolt against religion—before it turned later in the century on the government, too.

More than half of these two volumes is devoted to the suppression of the Jesuits. In great detail Pastor follows the intrigue leading to their suppression first in Portugal, then in France, in Spain, Naples, Parma, and Malta, and finally the preparations for the papal suppression of the order which, of course, did not occur until after Clement XIII's death early in 1769. This involved story of royal intrigue, and of confusion where the line between secular and religious realms is to be drawn, comes as close as anything we have read to explaining how the dead weight of Bourbon "protection" all but smothered the life out of the Church by the end of the eighteenth century. Historians will be grateful for Pastor's monumental work being carried through this period of the Church's decline. He handles his material faithfully as an historian, presenting his factual material and letting the conclusions emerge from the story itself. In this period particularly Catholic historians are tempted to see too easily the diabolical element working against the Church and to let this element alone account for the rise of anti-clerical and anti-religious movements of the century. Pastor's fuller account reveals in detail how the Church's decline took place.

By its very nature Pastor's work fails to describe general trends or to offer penetrating analyses of such things as Jansenism or Gallicanism. The author is concerned rather with the Jansenist or the Gallican in action. It remains for others to use the material in Pastor for drawing forth and analyzing these movements—which are to be found in this monumental work as currents under the surface of the diplomatic and ecclesiastical-political material so carefully depicted in these two volumes.

THOMAS P. NEILL

St. Louis University

AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

Motolinía's History of the Indians of New Spain. Translated and annotated by Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. [Publications of the Academy of American Franciscan History, Documentary Series No. 1.] (Washington, D. C.: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1951. Pp. xvii, 358. $6.50.)

Of all the narratives of the hispanization of Mexico, Motolinía's *History* is unquestionably one of the most informative and searching. Roughly divided, in its present state, into three treatises, with a fourth either missing or never written, it is a detailed description of the spiritual conquest by one of its most active participants. Father Toríbio de Benavente, better known as Motolinía, the name which he chose in the new world, arrived in New Spain in 1524 and labored among the Indians until his death in 1565, frequently holding positions of responsibility in his order during those years. His history, however, is much more than a record of his own activities, valuable as these might be; it is one of the chief sources for our knowledge of the Indian world during the first decades of European penetration. Without it neither the cultural anthropologist nor the mission historian could form an adequate picture of post-conquest Mexico. If anthropologists deplore the destruction of pre-Cortesian religions and their monuments as an irreparable loss, Motolinía's painstaking record at least partially remedies it. For the student of the conflict of two cultures and the victory of one, this work is tremendously significant. The methods used by the friars, the acceptance of the new doctrines by the Indians, and the necessary adjustment as cultural patterns disappeared to be replaced, sometimes inadequately, by others, sheds a great deal of light on both missionary technique and culture history. Finally the lives and virtues of the Franciscan missionaries, told with great personal humility, make of this work much more than an anthropological or historical treatise.

The Academy of American Franciscan History is to be congratulated for making Motolinía's *History* available in English and in so splendid an edition. Father Steck's seventy-page critical bio-bibliographical essay which precedes the text and his excellent textual annotation could well be used as a model for similar projects. One notes throughout that the editor is completely at home, not merely with the necessary technique but more importantly with the spirit of the author. Father Steck's enthusiasm for Motolinía, which is immediately apparent and at times almost unrestrained, does not adversely affect the introduction. The translation is happy and singularly free of hispanisms.

Physically the volume is a handsome one, marred only by a title page not worthy of it. The Academy in publishing this book as the first in its documentary series has set its standards high. If the subsequent volumes

approach the first, we shall have a major contribution to Ibero-American scholarship.

GEORGE C. A. BOEHRER

Marquette University

Here They Once Stood. The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions. By Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press. 1951. Pp. xvii, 189. 12 plates. $3.75.)

This volume deals with a little known period of Florida colonial history, viz., the tragic end of the Apalachee missions. It fills in one of the many lacunae in earlier Florida history. The years covered range from 1693 to 1708, and more particularly the climactic moments when the greater part of the Spanish missions in West Florida were destroyed by Colonel James Moore of South Carolina in 1704. The story was known before, but only in outline. *Here They Once Stood*, based on forty-five key documents extensively quoted, gives a clearer picture in more intimate detail.

The book is divided into three sections, the first of which is the historical part by Dr. Mark Boyd; the second and third sections deal with the mission sites from an archeological point of view. Hale G. Smith gives a description of the findings of the excavations of the Spanish mission site in Jefferson County, Florida, the probable site of San Francisco de Oconee; and John W. Griffin does the same for the Misión San Luis. An appendix by Mr. Smith describes the Leon-Jefferson ceramic types of the presumed site of San Francisco de Oconee; while the same author in conjunction with Griffin gives a trait list of both San Francisco de Oconee and San Luis. These archeological findings illustrate the mode of living among the Indians and the simple forlorn struggle of the missionaries.

From a perusal of the documents it appears that the depopulation of the mission field resulted, as the author points out, not only from the vicious attacks of the lower Creeks, incited and abetted by the English invaders, but also because there were formidable elements of rebellion on the part of the Apalachian Indians themselves.

The viciousness of Moore's attack is graphically told. Fray Juan de Parga's head was cut off and brought to the council house; Fray Manuel de Mendoza's body was found after the battle in a cane brake naked, swollen, half decomposed and with one leg cut off. One Spanish soldier, Balthasar Francisco, had his eyes gouged out, his ears were cut off, his tongue slashed; and burning splinters were stuck into his wounds. Many others died in similar horror after being tied to the stake and burned alive. Moore was unable to control his inhuman Indian allies in this gruesome attack. When upbraided about the wanton cruelty of his savage associates, he lamely replied that he had only a handful of

Englishmen compared to his ferocious collaborators and he was, therefore, unable to hold them in check. The terror of that raid and the inability of the sparsely manned Spanish garrisons to render effective support to the loyal Apalachians brought stark fear to the whole region. The Spanish saw that they would either have to withdraw or face extermination. Official word was given to withdraw. The Apalachian mission field was gone. A later attempt to revive it proved ineffective.

Some of the documents on which this story is built have been abridged to eliminate extraneous details, but many of them have been quoted almost in their entirety and the evidence becomes somewhat repetitious, although the editor undoubtedly felt it necessary to do this in order to give the historical account in the words of the eye-witnesses. The book is enriched with five text figures, twelve plates, an index, and a bibliography. The printing is excellent. *Here They Once Stood* is not easy reading, but it does highlight the story of the destruction of the Apalachee mission field and researchers in Florida mission history will welcome it.

MICHAEL J. CURLEY

Universidad Católica de Santa Maria
Ponce, Puerto Rico

Pageant in the Wilderness. The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Basin, 1776. By Herbert E. Bolton. (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society. 1951. Pp. 265. $5.50.)

Even to the casual student of history, the eminent Professor Bolton needs no introduction. He is well known for his many masterpieces on the territory which he has so aptly named "The Spanish Borderlands." The present work is another exhaustive effort in this same field, being, as it is, a translation, annotation, and historical explanation of the Escalante diary. Father Escalante's diary was concerned with his expedition in 1776 through New Mexico, Colorado, Utah, and Arizona in search of a route from the long-established Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the newly-founded Monterey, California. It was a journey beset with almost incredible difficulty and hardship, and marked in the end with failure in respect to its primary purpose, but it made the Franciscan friar one of the great adventurers of his day, "comparable to the more publicized David Livingston in Africa several decades later" (p. 6). Indeed, Dr. Bolton ranks Escalante and his companion, Father Dominiquez, even higher among explorers than De Soto, Cabrillo, Lewis, Clark, Pike, and Boone, and even goes so far as to classify them with his favorite, Coronado (p. 127).

In his bibliography the University of California scholar mentions his "retracing of Escalante's route through many years" (p. 253). He has done the same for the routes of Coronado, Kino, De Mezierès, Portolà,

Anza, and Father Garces, the last named "a far western Daniel Boone" (p. 3). This retracing is but one indication of the thoroughness of the man, a thoroughness which is also manifest in the keen interest and knowledge he exhibits throughout this work in archeology, geology, ethnology, and other fields influenced by Escalante and his diary. The author's style is beautiful in its simplicity, informative, and interspersed with snatches of that neat measured sense of humor which, perhaps, mistakenly but nevertheless often, is associated with the scholar. And the book also reveals much of the personality, if not the philosophy, of this great historian, writing, as he does with a firm grasp of things Spanish, of things Catholic, making statements which would seem less objective, unfortunately, if from the pen of a Catholic. The only regret of this reviewer is that the last page of this fine work came along too quickly.

TIMOTHY J. CASEY

Serra High School
San Mateo

The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888 By George Paré (Detroit: Gabriel Richard Press. 1951. Pp. xv, 717. $6.00.)

Father Paré's spacious account of the first 187 years in the quarter millenium of Detroit Catholic history has been long and eagerly expected. That it is well worth waiting for should be the verdict of all gradations of reader from the critically inquisitive, hungry for the fruits of vigorous scholarship, to the man whose interest can be held only by the smoothness of a robust and vivid narrative. Almost every page attests by liberal annotations impressively wide research, and scores of passages might be quoted to instance first-rate literary craftsmanship. Seldom, too, has a volume of this kind actualized so roundedly the historian's aims and scope. In twenty-four chapters the progress of Catholicism in the city and See of Detroit—and with less intensiveness in the broader field of Michigan—is chronologically recounted from its beginnings under the Jesuit explorers to the close of Bishop Borgess' administration. To this full-bodied unfolding of large and little facts four topical chapter essays are appended. They synthesize abundant data on factors that defied narrative continuity: Indian missions, education, charitable endeavor, and the Catholic press.

Numerous difficulties lay inherent in a work of this size and complexity. Among them, in addition to harvesting and collating uncounted source items over a long span, were the careful analysis of primary materials, the luminous and balanced assimilation of the total factual yield, the apt delineation of several hundred clerics and laymen who swell the pageant, the conscientious tracing of motives for all important actions, the anxious brooding over nice points of interpretation, and the cautious illative filling

of hiatuses at crucial junctures. These and still other taxing demands Father Paré has met with such marked success throughout the main stream of his study that readers will contentedly blink at inadequacies which muddy a few tributaries.

Since it is solely to passages of secondary consideration that exception may be taken, the reviewer trusts he will not be thought carping if he pauses upon one or two of them. The somewhat insouciant treatment they have received appears to result from unreflecting assumption and a readiness to rely on the unripe scholarship of writers who need revision. Cursory examination of the page that opens chapter twenty, "The Episcopate of Bishop Lefevere" (p. 435), will exemplify both types of insufficiency. Accounting for the appointment of the western Vincentian, John Odin, to the coadjutorship of Detroit in 1840, Father Paré conjectures—and repeats the conjecture—that Bishop Rosati of St. Louis took advantage of circumstances to secure the Michigan dignity for his protégé: "The vacancy at Detroit gave him the opportunity of championing not only a candidate proposed by the Council [of Baltimore] but a priest of his own diocese, a Lazarist [Vincentian] like himself, and a man whose virtues and abilities were manifest." Actually Rosati, writing from Rome to the superior of the American Vincentians a few days after the Detroit post had thus been filled, assured him with unquestionable sincerity that he had employed every practical expedient to keep Odin in the new-born Vincentian Prefecture Apostolic of Texas. He had besought in turn, he said, the archbishop secretary of Propaganda, the cardinal prefect, and the Pope himself to confer the honor on either of the other two candidates named that year in the synodal *terna*. (Cf. Rosati to John Timon, December 18, 1840, Archives of the University of Notre Dame, Vincentian Papers.) Doubtless it would be overexacting to require a writer to explore primary sources for details of incidental significance to his purpose, but it can hardly be over-exacting to expect him to avoid unfair implications. Rosati, as a devoted member of a religious institute that could ill afford to lose his services, had reluctantly negated his own Vincentian vow of stability in accepting the miter; even in the absence of such epistolary evidence as that just cited, it might have been assumed that he would not have gratuitously deprived his institute of a like devoted and necessary member.

As an instance of credulous acceptance of a misinforming printed source, Father Paré, on the same page, not only post-dates Odin's birth by a year, but has him join the Vincentians in Paris instead of at St. Mary-of-the-Barrens in Missouri. Clearly the Odin sketch he consulted needed checking with a record like Rosati's "Catalogus Alumnorum Seminarii S. Mariae Congregationis Missionis ab anno 1815" (Archives of Kenrick Seminary).

The format of *The Catholic Church in Detroit* is an attractive specimen of the Gabriel Richard Press. Fourteen well-selected illustrations are effectively reproduced and enhance the clear text. The choice of end papers, though, may disappoint some readers who, in place of rare but purely decorative samples of eighteenth-century cartography, may think maps charting pioneer diocesan expansion more serviceable. The volume has a satisfactory index but lacks what must have been a rich bibliography.

RALPH F. BAYARD

Kenrick Seminary

Father Paul of Graymoor. By David Gannon, S.A. (New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. x, 372. $4.00.)

Father Gannon has furnished a very interesting biography of Father Paul. His task has been a difficult one because very few are living who knew Father Paul in his Anglican days, or during the first decade of his Catholic life. When he entered the Church in 1909 his community consisted of himself and one lay brother, and it was not until 1920 that two more priests were ordained. In the 1930's the order began to grow. It was only during the last ten years of his life that the founder began to see the phenomenal fulfillment of his undaunted faith. The Friars of the Atonement now have over a hundred priests and several hundred sisters. They have a church in Rome, a mission in Japan, a house of studies at the Catholic University of America, and many other institutions.

This reviewer knew Father Paul when he was the Reverend Lewis Thomas Watson, and was closely acquainted with him until his death in 1940. He agrees with the author that Father Paul was an outstanding personality whose faith, charity, and spirituality cannot be questioned. He outlived years of opposition and misrepresentation both as a Protestant minister and as a Catholic. He must have suffered intensely both physically and mentally, and it is difficult to understand how he survived the hardships that he cheerfully accepted. His activities were amazing. When he was quite alone he undertook to publish a monthly paper called *The Lamp* which became internationally famous. Before his conversion he had already started the Church Unity Octave—the "Union-that-nothing-be-lost." He raised hundreds of thousands of dollars every year for missionary purposes which were distributed to all who asked for help. He was one of the founders of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association and he established the Graymoor Press. His friars' Ave Maria Hour is now broadcast every Sunday over a hundred stations. All this is told with filial reverence by the author.

Father Paul could not be called a representative Protestant Episcopal clergyman. He always went his own way. He enraged the Anglican clergy

by his pro-papal articles in *The Lamp* but he converted none of them. The Open Pulpit Movement of 1907-1908 which brought so many ministers into the Church was only indirectly concerned with Graymoor. Indeed, Father Paul deliberately condemned individual conversions as being contrary to his dreams of corporate reunion. Not a single clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church became a Friar of the Atonement. Despite his fondest hopes, he was not the leader of any mass movement from his original Church.

We congratulate Father Gannon on his work and hope that a life of Mother Lurana, whose faith and intelligence supported Father Paul in his days of trial, will soon be forthcoming.

EDWARD HAWKS

St. Joan of Arc Church
Philadelphia

Full Circle. The Story of the National Catholic School of Social Service, 1918-1947. By Loretto R. Lawler. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 243. $3.00.)

This book tells the story of the struggles of a small group of people in setting up a Catholic school of social service and maintaining it for twenty-six years. The most lasting contribution of the volume is the picture that it gives of the objectives that the late Father John J. Burke, C.S.P., had in mind in setting up this school and in struggling to maintain it. What is said about the chapel, the liturgy, common religious exercises, retreats—all give us a somewhat rounded picture of Father Burke's objectives for the school. It is a picture of a crusader setting out to establish a new religious community. Father Burke believed that it was only through consecrated lives that we could have a real program of Catholic social service.

As the National Catholic School of Social Service developed, Father Burke was compelled to reckon with other points of view, especially that of Monsignor William J. Kerby. For Monsignor Kerby, Catholic social service was almost completely a part of a lay apostolate. Hence his interest in developing lay professional workers. Apparently, the writer has failed to recognize the profound change that took place in Monsignor Kerby's thinking in the late 1920's. He felt that we had gone entirely too far in the development of professionalism at the expense of volunteer lay participation.

Throughout the entire volume the writer tends to oversimplify the relationships between the National Catholic School of Social Service and the Catholic University of America. In dealing with the Service School,

the authorities of the University felt that they were in a very delicate position. During the late 1920's many leaders in Catholic charities felt that a broader program of social service training should be developed as part of the University. But most people were afraid to face the facts. The story that Miss Lawler tells points to some of the difficulties of the situation. It is, however, only a part of the picture, and it is questionable whether there is sufficient documentary information available to tell the whole story. What happened eventually in the amalgamation of the National Catholic School of Social Service and the School of Social Work of the Catholic University of America was the inevitable result of a debate that had been in progress for twenty years. Miss Lawler could not be expected to have written a complete history of this debate. However, she has rendered a great service in telling us the story of a pioneer effort in Catholic social service. The mysticism of Father Burke and the philosophy of Monsignor Kerby will remain as permanent contributions to the education of Catholic social workers.

JOHN O'GRADY

National Conference of Catholic Charities

GENERAL HISTORY

Die Heiligen und Der Staat. Three Volumes. By Franziskus M. Stratmann, O.P. (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Josef Knecht. Carolusdruckerei. 1949. Pp. 173; 170; 267. DM 7.-.)

This three-volume work is a scholarly presentation of the age-old problem of Church and State. The author views the conflict from a unique standpoint. In the introduction to the first volume he lays down his thesis that if the Catholic principles on personality and state had been followed, fewer conflicts would have occurred between the two. *Die Heiligen und der Staat* is restricted to an investigation of the most noteworthy of the saints of the early centuries. Stratmann argues that the saint is both a man and a citizen who regards seriously all his duties, including civil, since he realizes that God rules through the state. Consequently, a saint is a most worthwhile citizen in the civic commonwealth. If the latter is inspired by the same spirit, or if it is disposed to regard itself as a servant of the Supreme Deity and permits its members to live according to the directions of God, no conflict can arise (I, 10).

Volume I is entirely devoted to a philosophical and historical analysis of Christ as sovereign and as subject; Christ as subject occupies the far greater portion of the volume. The author presents an excellent historical setting of conditions, Jewish and Roman, at the time of Christ. Little known details of Roman history and Roman treatment of the Jewish people are interposed. The author maintains that Christ came into the world

after the sceptre had passed from Juda in order that He might assume the obligations of both an indigenous and a foreign rule. A unique discussion of the flight into Egypt is followed by a fine analysis of tyranny. The chapter entitled, "Jesus and Jewish Nationalism," is deserving of special attention by the student since it presents a detailed investigation of Christ's contacts with Jewish civil authority. There is an exceptionally fine study on the key principle of Church and State laid down by Christ: "Render, therefore, to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's" (I, 147 ff.).

Volume II has the subtitle: "Peter, Paul, the Martyrs, Helena." It evidences the same careful study as the first. Naturally, for the discussion on Peter and Paul the author relies primarily on the words of Sacred Scripture. The discussion on the martyrs is good, but the author's treatment of Helena, her unhappy relationship with Constantius Chlorus and her profound influence upon Constantine, affords particularly interesting reading. Stratmann maintains that it was Helena who supported and directed the alliance of earthly rule with the service of Christ (II, 169). "Athanasius, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine," is the subtitle of Volume III. While the author repeats many incidents well known to the student of church history and patrology, he shows a comprehensive grasp of the writings of these four great doctors of the Church, particularly of their letters. Athanasius, he states, was the first saint to oppose a Christian emperor in the name of Christ. Of special interest to this reviewer is his study of Ambrose. He emphasizes the thoroughly political character of the great Milanese bishop and the fine Roman administrative ability which he carried with him into the episcopate. For Stratmann, Ambrose was a "Politiker durch und durch."

The format of the work is attractive and the notes adequate. It would be well if this fine study on Church and State were made accessible in English for students unfamiliar with the German.

PAUL J. KNAPKE

St. Charles Seminary
Carthagena

Man and the State. By Jacques Maritain. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1951. Pp. x, 219. $3.50.)

This volume is the outgrowth of six lectures given at the University of Chicago in December, 1949, under the auspices of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation for the Study of American Institutions. It is announced as the first of a series of volumes "setting forth the basic principles on which democracy rests" to be issued by the foundation.

Man and the State is a potent antidote for a part of the poison in the torrent of books, articles, and letters to the press appearing currently in an attempt to make a profitable business out of selling misinformation about *both* Catholic doctrine and American democracy. (This period is called by the proprietors of this enterprise one of such "censorship" by the Catholic hierarchy that publishers and others are afraid to utter any criticism of the Church. Non-Catholic America, we are told, is now "silent" about the threat of Catholicism!)

Readers who dislike careful definition of terms, and emotional philosophers who are most productive only in the dusk of ambiguity, will not like Professor Maritain's latest book—as they have not liked his earlier ones. For the sincere student, however, who seeks understanding rather than titillation *Man and the State* is indispensable. The chapter on the rights of man contains model expositions of natural law and the natural rights of man, which "are inalienable since they are grounded on the very nature of man, which of course no man can lose." In the chapter on "The Democratic Charter," Maritain develops the theme that "In proportion as the civil society, or body politic, has become more perfectly distinguished from the spiritual realm of the Church—a process which was in itself but a development of the Gospel distinction between the things that are Caesar's and the things that are God's—the civil society has become grounded on a common good and a common task which are of an earthly, 'temporal,' or 'secular' order in which citizens belonging to diverse spiritual groups or lineages share equally." He expounds "the right to rule themselves inherent in the people and permanent in them."

In discussing "Church and State," Professor Maritain is not concerned specifically with our American system of the relation of government to religion, but rather with a philosophical discussion of the basic principles and doctrines governing this relationship. The American system, as planned, adopted, observed (and interpreted up to 1947), is clearly in harmony with the philosophical principles. Maritain's position, familiar to Catholic scholars, of course, is "that by nature the body politic, which belongs strictly to the natural order, is only concerned with the temporal life of men and their temporal common good. In that realm the body politic, as Pope Leo XIII has insisted, is fully autonomous; the state, the modern state, is under the command of no superior authority in its own order. But the order of eternal life is superior in itself to the order of temporal life." And Maritain adds this note of warning, which I hope (rather pessimistically) will be heeded by those who are afraid that the Pope is out to rule the United States: "Let us remove from the word 'superiority' any accidental connotation of domination and hegemony; let us understand this word in its pure sense; it means a higher place in the scale of values, a higher dignity." He remarks, as Catholic scholars have

been maintaining for years with little effect on their unscholarly critics, that 'truth' and 'error' do not have rights. As he says, "the principle of equality of rights is to be applied—not to 'doctrines' or 'creeds,' this would have no meaning—but to *citizens* who belong in these different religious lineages, . . ."

Finally Maritain quotes Cardinal Manning's famous reply to Gladstone: "If the Catholics were in power tomorrow in England . . . they would not use political power to molest the divided and hereditary religious state of the people. We would not shut one of their Churches, or Colleges, or Schools. They would have the same liberties we enjoy as a minority." Such a statement, says Maritain, "is valid not only for England, but for every freedom-loving country." Every American—Catholic, Protestant, Jew, or atheist—who understands both American democracy and Catholic doctrine, will agree. In the great task of spreading understanding, *Man and the State* can make a tremendous contribution. For an exposition of the basic principles of democracy, and for the relation between these and the basic doctrines of Catholicism, I put this book first among those available in the English language.

JAMES M. O'NEILL

Brooklyn College

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution. By Donald Greer. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1951. Pp. 173. $3.00.)

In this technical study, supported by extensive charts and a full bibliography, Mr. Greer sets out to discover "the volume, the geographic, social and temporal incidences—in other words the fundamental patterns—of the emigration during the French Revolution." Correctly dismissing the official *Liste générale par ordre alphabétique des émigrés de toute la République* as "virtually useless," he bases his work on the "departmental, district and communal" lists, most of which are, he believes, "susceptible to correction and completion by means of other source material." To his task he brings statistics as "the only feasible means." With no claim to absolute exactitude and allowing for generous margins of error, he is convinced that his results are valid. While this technique is new in the field of historical research, and its final acceptance as an addition to or a substitute for more conventional procedures remains uncertain, there can be little question of its challenging character. Herein lies the greatest significance of this book for the historian in general.

For the historian of the French Revolution in particular, Mr. Greer's book is also significant. His statistical estimate of 129,099 official émigrés

"only one half of one per cent of the population of France" should help to rectify exaggerated calculations. His picture of 1791 as "the year of the military emigration," 1792 as that of the clerical, may confirm earlier opinion. His emphasis on the "great plebian [*sic*] emigration," which occurred under the republic, motivated by contemporary convulsions and resultant panic, will surprise many. In fact, the definitive emergence of this hitherto slighted group as more than half of the total emigration—in the mind of the present reviewer the most important result of Mr. Greer's study—should, did not such myths die hard, deal a deathblow to the common concept of an exclusively upper class exodus.

This is a scholar's book. Closely reasoned and closely written, it demands particularly attentive reading on the part of the historian untrained in statistical method. So read it belies the fear that the use of new techniques need destroy the human equation. Clio, in modern dress, is still surprisingly pleasing.

FRANCIS S. CHILDS

Brooklyn College

Antisemitism in Modern France. By Robert F. Byrnes. Volume I. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 348. $5.00.)

Like anti-clericalism the phenomenon of anti-Semitism is an extremely complex one in any period of European history. This book is a study of the "causes and course" of the anti-Semitic movement in France from the establishment of the Third Republic down to the Dreyfuss case. Two more volumes are projected to complete the study of anti-Semitism in modern France. It is easy to oversimplify the analysis. Non-Jewish majorities probably have been consistently culpable in the unintelligent position which they have adopted toward Jewish minorities. But it is the reviewer's judgment that the author has succeeded very much better in tracing the course of anti-Semitism than he has in analyzing its causes.

There is a tremendous mass of evidence which Mr. Byrnes has collected to illustrate the extent of the feeling against the Jews. Probably a greater service could have been rendered to the members of this afflicted race as well as to historical scholarship had it been more thoroughly probed. There is nothing historically unique about a people being subjected to persecution. Normally such persecutions have followed a religious, a racial, or a nationalistic pattern. The instance of the treatment of the Irish by England since the Protestant Revolt exemplifies a religious and national pattern; that of the Negroes by Caucasians exemplifies a racial pattern. The author concedes this. But he sees in the history of the

Jews elements of greater tragedy. He cites two reasons to explain the more tragic history of the Jewish people: (1) the identification in the Christian mind of the Jewish people with the drama of Calvary; and (2) the threat to Christianity which Judaism was considered to have been for more than a thousand years after Christ.

Very probably the thinking of persons and groups who have blundered into burial anti-Semitism cannot and should not be analyzed apart from considerations of these two reasons. The question of the responsibility of the Jewish race for the death of Christ in the theology of Christianity is for many Jews even today close to the crux of the problem of anti-Semitism. Any profound study of anti-Semitism in the history of Christianity will necessarily contain more than a passing allusion to this phase of the problem. Moreover, it is not likely that Christian theology will reverse its position in this connection. Second, there has been a feeling that even when Judaism as such no longer constituted a menace to Christian civilization, percentagewise large numbers have identified themselves with non-Jewish groups and organizations which are scarcely to be regarded as sympathetic with the pattern of Christian civilization as it has unfolded up to the present. Such thinking, of course, is apt to be guilty of the illogical assumption that these were not exceptional but rather represented the entire group. In view of this reasoning it might not be out of place to suggest that many anti-Semitic excesses, e.g., of Drumont and his *Libre Parole*, were conditioned by Jewish antagonisms.

The reviewer thought he detected an unfortunate tendency on the part of the author to relate French anti-semitism during these years too closely to a supposedly obscurantist attitude toward Freemasonry. If such were actually the case, it would only serve to explain the *raison d'être* of much anti-Semitism. In any event, the chief contribution of this study is the vast accumulation of evidence for anti-semitism during these decades. Its chief shortcoming is that the study confines itself so largely to a description of the phenomenon without attempting to analyze very deeply what lay behind it, and caused it to flourish the way it did. Possibly Mr. Byrnes reasoned that such an analysis would have carried the work too deeply into the realms of mob psychology. Without it, however, this reader sensed a certain inadequacy.

HENRY W. CASPER

Creighton University

The Irish Parliamentary Party, 1890-1910. By F. S. L. Lyons. (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. 1951. Pp. 284. 25s.)

The tragic death in 1891 of Charles Stuart Parnell, dictator for a decade of Irish politics, following upon his involvement in the O'Shea

divorce case, left a badly shattered Irish parliamentary party that his former lieutenants worked frenetically to repair. This excellent book is concerned with their efforts.

Drawing information from newspapers, memoirs, and the collected papers of John Dillon, William O'Brien, J. F. X. O'Brien, Michael Davitt, and Timothy Harrington, Professor Lyons finds beneath the acrimonious and seemingly personal bickering of these and other politicians basic differences over the validity of Parnellism. Parnell had created an authoritarian party that dominated Irish national life by judiciously mixing force with persuasion and the British Parliament by an equally judicious mixture of rugged independence and adroit courting of the English parties. Tim Healy was the principal antagonist of those who wanted to carry on this tradition, and not until he was ousted in 1900 did the party regain its old form. But, as this study's careful analysis of personnel and organization reveals, similarity of the new party to the old was in form only. The party pledge, chief disciplinary instrument, continued to be used; but the democratic innovations of Balfour and the lessons in autonomy given to the constituencies by Healy and William O'Brien made control of the local party organizations difficult. And Conservative commitment to the Act of Union meant that John Redmond in 1910 had less room in which to maneuver than had Parnell in 1885.

Not without its successes, the Irish Parliamentary Party is more memorable for its ultimate alienation from the people, and Professor Lyons offers considerable insight into the origins of this phenomenon. The party rank and file, increasingly representative of Irish public opinion, could not get a hearing from the leaders. By 1910 the front door was closed on the moderate social reformers, like Sir Horace Plunkett, and the back on Sinn Fein and the radical nationalists; and the party, isolated and ignorant of the combustible materials without, was ready to be consumed in that conflagration which would begin in Easter Week of 1916.

In this reviewer's opinion the author has exaggerated the extent to which the conduct of the party's leaders was motivated by concern for principles, and has neglected consideration of the clash of their peculiar personalities in the morbid atmosphere that engulfed Ireland after Parnell's fall. Nevertheless, his book is an extremely valuable contribution to the study of Irish history.

THOMAS N. BROWN
University of Notre Dame

The German Social Democratic Party, 1914-1921. By A. Joseph Berlau. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 374. $4.75.)

In recent years students interested in the problem of the failure of German democracy between the wars have turned their attention from

the late years of the Weimar Republic to those of its inception and infancy. By following their example the author of this monograph has been able to provide us with a useful, if not essentially original, account and analysis of the Social Democratic Party's policies in the period 1914-1921, based in considerable measure upon hitherto unused party pamphlet materials. While this reviewer does not share the author's belief that Germany needed a larger dose of socialism than she received in 1918-1919, he does think that Berlau has contributed to our knowledge of the German political scene in the years concerned.

The thesis of this study is that the Social Democrats' pre-eminent position in government affairs between 1918 and 1921 gave them the opportunity to popularize democratic ideas among the German people. Instead they renounced this opportunity by accepting the existing political system, a laissez-faire economy, and a nationalistic attitude toward the Treaty of Versailles, and by failing to remove the anti-democratic members of the army command and civil administration. While admitting that Germany's collapse, the fear of a repetition of the Russian disorders, and other serious events justified some modification of party doctrines, Berlau insists that no orthodox socialist party would have modified or abandoned its basic beliefs as did the Social Democratic Party. Hence he comes to the conclusion that the Social Democrats wanted no changes unfavorable to the middle class parties.

The author explains this defection largely in terms of nationalism and opportunism. Nationalism, a latent influence in the party since the days of Lassalle, flourished after August, 1914, because of the conviction that Germany was a victim of aggression and, too, because of the obvious popularity of the war. The amazing growth of the party before and during the war had a marked influence upon the thoughts and actions of the party leaders as well. Eager to retain their supporters and recognizing the stake that the workers and trade unions had in the existing order, most of the leaders and a majority of the party rejected a minority's demands that the whole party oppose the government. Not only did this majority wing try to save the monarchy up to a few days before the actual revolution in November, 1918, but it later disposed of the political councils, emasculated the economic councils, rejected a planned economy, condemned in strong terms the Versailles peace, and left intact the army and civil administration. Thus, Berlau insists, the party failed to deprive anti-democratic groups of their influence and to make democratic ideals attractive to the lower classes at one and the same time.

It is doubtless true that the Social Democratic Party had abandoned most of its fundamental beliefs by 1919, but it is no less true that the German people had not given the party a mandate to accomplish radical social and economic changes. Berlau agrees, but he claims if the Social

Democrats had instituted and justified these changes, then the people would have supported them. Obviously such an assertion is pure conjecture and cannot be proved or disproved. And while we can all agree that it was regrettable that the army and civil administration continued to function under opponents of the new regime, the fact remains that neither the Social Democratic Party nor its democratic allies could supply more reliable replacements!

JOHN K. ZEENDER

University of Massachusetts

AMERICAN HISTORY

Letters of Benjamin Rush. Volume I, *1761-1792;* Volume II, *1793-1813.* Edited by Lyman H. Butterfield. [Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 30, Part 1 and 2.] (Princeton: Published for the American Philosophical Society by Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. lxxxvii, 1295. $15.00.)

The most prominent feature of the curriculum at Princeton in the class in which Benjamin Rush graduated was ethics. Among the propositions advanced were: a perfect system of ethics in the present condition of man cannot be constructed without the help of divine revelation; God is the cause of things and, therefore, also of the relations of the same. Such intellectual discipline was strong in the background of the man who was to become the most scholarly physician in American medical circles, with his M.D. from Edinburgh. The scholastic philosophy that flourished in American colleges in the late eighteenth century was to serve Rush well when ten years later the "ablest American clinician" set his all to the hazard when he put his signature on the Declaration, August 2, 1776.

The scholarly editor of these letters does not refer especially to the importance of this philosophic tradition in their author, nor does Rush himself in the 650 letters here gathered seem aware of the source of many of his basic ideas. Two thirds of these letters have never been published before and twice the number printed here will be made available in the Union Catalogue of the American Philosophical Society. The resources of that society, the intrepid scholarship of Professor Butterfield, and the brilliant, if sometimes disarmingly erratic, pen of Rush have produced a monument that no student of the period can legitimately spurn. There are letters to James Madison, Patrick Henry, Anthony Wayne, Noah Webster, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and innumerable others. Intellectual energy and sincere zeal for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness for his fellow man distinguish this correspondence whether he is cursing Benjamin Franklin or, a year later, holding him in high esteem for his learning. Rush fought against slavery, Latin and Greek, inhumane treat-

ment of the feeble minded, rum for soldiers (except on sentry duty in the rain!), peculation in high places in the army. As surgeon general he had a notorious clash with Dr. William Shippen and indirectly with George Washington. Rush resigned his position in January, 1778, after he had issued to the officers of the army a statement on preserving the health of the soldiers. The editor's service in assembling the evidence that vindicates Rush, even as it establishes the sincere interest of Washington in the health and welfare of his hospitalized soldiers, is of great value.

Rush's zeal for blood letting during the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia was highly controversial. Among his patients was Lawrence Graessl, a Bavarian priest, named coadjutor to Bishop John Carroll of Baltimore. Deism did not touch Rush. He remained the soundly educated humanist in the Christian tradition. He favored Jefferson in 1796, yet in 1797 John Adams appointed him treasurer of the mint. He favored a federal university, but secured the charter for Dickinson College. His politics and hasty personal reactions were often confused and contradictory but his ever interesting mind is revealed in all its fascination and eloquently human significance in these capably collected papers.

JOSEPH G. DWYER

Iona College

The Utopian Communist. A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth-Century Reformer. By Carl Wittke. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 327. $4.50.)

Once again Professor Wittke has cast light on the story of the German forty-eighters in the United States through a biography. This volume serves as a kind of companion piece to his earlier life of Karl Heinzen, and both constitute a prelude to the promised work on the whole movement of the forty-eighters which looms so important for an understanding of pre-Civil War America.

Weitling's life is a tale of two continents, but the author has taken care to emphasize his American career. This utopian communist was born in 1808 in Magdeburg and later in life employed well his bilingual inheritance. Although he soon deserted the Catholic training of his youth for rationalism and anti-clericalism (yet years later he thought it had had value for character formation), he continued throughout his life to use scriptural language and sentiments. In the mid-1830's Weitling was found in the turmoil which was Paris affiliated with the communistic "League of the Just" in which he worked as preacher and publicist. The radical tailor, whose social-messias complex was already waxing strong, then found sympathetic spirits in the Switzerland of the early 1840's where he enjoyed his most productive period before being hounded out by the

police. In 1844 he was in London and two years later in Brussels where his utopian communism based on a Christian notion of brotherhood gave way in the discussions of the embryo communist organization before the scientific communism of Marx and Engels. Weitling was in the United States in early 1847, by then a well-known radical, but he hurried back to the homeland for the revolution of 1848-1849. He was of little importance there despite his writings and speeches since he was a man of extreme views. As editor of *Die Republik der Arbeiter* in the New York City of the 1850's he had, however, an audience, for it was the organ of an *Arbeiterbund* which had national membership pledged to a "republic of workers." Many of them were soon lost by being won over to German-American movements interested in more bourgeois reforms. The Weitling master plan called for a new bank system with workers receiving paper money based on the labor value of their products. It included, too, the then popular workers' co-operative associations and even the dream of a transcontinental railroad build under workers' management. The utopian settlement of Communia, Iowa, was another prairie paradise of that period in which such schemes indicated that it had forgotten how human nature and communist theory did not mix. After 1854 and his marriage Weitling stepped out of his reformer role and gave his time up to his death in 1871 to his vest-making, a job at Castle Garden, and not very successfully devising a universal language and a new system of astronomy.

The author has given a picture of a man's thought and of his times rather than of the man. This almost had to be so, since for his sources there was no bulk of personal papers but almost exclusively Weitling's published writings and the German newspapers. Apart from some few lines of poetry, the book has hardly a direct quotation of the subject's own words. It is not heavily documented and one might wonder how individual facts in the story could be pin-pointed by subsequent researchers. Students of radicalism and of German immigration will be grateful for this biography which saves the erratic Weitling from further American oblivion. If one may be permitted a regret, it is that the author did not fulfill the implied promise contained in his defense of the place due to Weitling in history on the grounds that, "No proletarian author ever described the miseries of the poor more eloquently or contrasted the life of the rich and the poor more vividly" (p. 106).

HENRY J. BROWNE
The Catholic University of America

Nook Farm: Mark Twain's Hartford Circle. By Kenneth R. Andrews. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 288. $4.75.)

Nook Farm is a study of the group of writers and intellectuals who lived in Hartford, Connecticut, in the 1870's and 1880's. Using Mark

Twain as the central figure, Andrews shows how there converged at Nook Farm, the hundred-acre wooded tract first purchased by John Hooker, a group of men and women regarded as leaders of their day in several fields. There was, perhaps, no real genius or first-rate mind among them; yet they reflected the currents of their day as clearly as had their literary precedessors in Hartford nearly a century earlier. John Hooker, a native of Farmington, married Isabella, one of the brilliant daughters of Lyman Beecher, established himself as a Hartford attorney, and built the first mansion at Nook Farm in the early 1850's. He was followed by many others, including Joseph Twitchell, the clergyman who was one of Mark Twain's closest friends, Charles Dudley Warner, and Calvin and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Mark Twain came to the city to live in 1871.

In no sense uniform in their thinking, the Nook Farm group were congenial neighbors and had a genuine affection for one another in spite of personal foibles. Perhaps, the one exception was Isabella Hooker, once the soul of the gathering, brilliant, intense, eager for knowledge, but with a fatal inability to see implications behind the immediate problem on which she was concentrating. She genuinely loved her brother, Henry Ward Beecher, and he once wrote her that he felt closer to her than to any other in his family. Yet she first accused him of sin, then publicly urged him to acknowledge it at a time when the eyes of the country were focussed on the Brooklyn legal suit that was to wreck Beecher's career. The three Beecher sisters, Harriet, Catherine, and Isabella, had earlier departed from their father's stern Calvinistic teachings. Harriet possessed a religion of love that embraced all humanity; Catherine plunged into women's education and women's rights. Isabella ended her life a spiritualist, convinced that she would some day be President of the United States. Joseph Twitchell, too, taught a religion based on broad humanitarianism and tolerance of all men.

Warner, Harriet Beecher Stowe, and Mark Twain made their livings by writing, and the Hartford atmosphere, perhaps because of its congeniality, too often proved a grave distraction. Yet the pressure of maintaining expensive establishments led all three to write furiously in a losing battle against the cost of living. The inevitable consequence was that their work suffered from haste and lack of proper digestion of ideas. The halcyon bubble burst in the late 1880's and 1890's. Harriet gradually lost her mind. Isabella Hooker's absorption in spiritualism and her suspicion of her neighbors' attitude alienated them from her. Mark Twain could not afford to maintain his expensive home. He closed his house in 1891, and after the death of his daughter, Susie, he never wanted to live there again.

Mr. Andrews has done an excellent job on the personalities that made up Hartford's Nook Farm. He has examined countless manuscripts of the Hooker, Twitchell, and Warner families, as well as many of the

unpublished Mark Twain Papers. From his work emerge the key figures—Harriet, Isabella, Charles Dudley Warner, Joseph Hopkins Twitchell, and Mark Twain, all of them products of staunchly Calvinist backgrounds, all having rejected Calvinism. All finally achieved some degree of peace of mind, except Mark Twain himself. The intense self-denunciation in his personality, the deaths of two daughters and his wife, made of him an embittered pessimist, convinced that if there was a God He had no interest in ordinary mortals. His was the keynote for the opening of the new century.

CATHERINE FENNELLY

Old Sturbridge Village

Joe Tumulty and the Wilson Era. By John M. Blum. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co. 1951. Pp. xi, 337. $4.00.)

One might assume that the position of secretary to the President of the United States is not too important. John Blum has endeavored to show that Wilson's secretary, Joseph P. Tumulty, played a significant role during his term in office and left his stamp on Wilson's ideas. In this very readable work, exceptionally well provided with notes and bibliography, he clearly reveals how Wilson owed much of his success to his likeable and politically astute secretary. The author, however, has failed to prove that Tumulty played a truly significant role in American history.

Tumulty is portrayed as a man entirely devoted to Wilson and the Democratic Party. His Catholicism and Irish background were not allowed to affect his actions; although both were used to win political support. In the last analysis his influence consisted not so much in providing Wilson with new ideas as in helping the President successfully to put into effect his own policies. When Tumulty's views differed from Wilson's, as they did on such matters as the Panama tolls question, the Roger Casement affair, the method of battling for the Treaty of Versailles, and the handling of the Democratic convention in 1920, the President followed his own opinion, while his secretary, as a rule, did his utmost to win support for his chief's position.

Mr. Blum's work throws some interesting light on Wilson's character. The President knew full well that the skillful use of patronage was necessary to win him political support; yet he preferred to believe that his strength was due to his espousal of the will of the people. He was devoted to humanity, yet loved few individuals. After becoming President he read little and was an impatient listener. His treatment of Tumulty is particularly illuminating. Wilson, whom Blum accuses of social and intellectual snobbery, never allowed his secretary to call him by his Christian name.

And at a time when Tumulty was the object of bitter criticism due largely to his loyal support of Wilson, the latter asked for his resignation.

Tumulty is but one of that long list of Irish Catholic politicians, who, because of background, attractive personality, and political ability have proved useful to presidents and political parties but have left no real impression of their own on American history. Perhaps, a better title for this book would have been Wilson's Man Friday.

PHILIP J. MITCHELL

Holy Cross College
Washington

Mr. Justice Sutherland. By Joel Francis Paschal. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 267. $4.00.)

This is a volume that should appeal to anyone interested in studying the radical changes in American constitutional law commencing in 1937 and still continuing, by virtue of the changing outlook of the justices appointed to the supreme bench since the first Roosevelt administration.

Mr. Justice Sutherland was appointed to the court by President Harding in September, 1922, and served until January, 1938, when he notified President Roosevelt of his intention to retire. Accordingly, his judicial tenure embraced the period when the great struggle between the chief executive and the court was at its height. The author interestingly sketches Sutherland's early training and formal education, stressing the influences on him, as reflected in his judicial career, of the teachings of the Mormon Church, the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and the constitutional theories of Thomas M. Cooley. Sutherland, while not a Mormon, was a student at the Brigham Young Academy, an educational enterprise of the Mormon Church, which later became Brigham Young University. Here he was taught that the Constitution was a divinely inspired instrument; hence it should be strictly construed and followed. He believed in the individualistic doctrine of Spencer and in Cooley's doctrine of constitutional limitations, that individual rights were an antecedent to both states and constitutions. Justice Sutherland in his judicial career consistently followed the ideas and ideals implanted in him by his early training; he was a worthy champion of the truly American doctrine that our Constitution is a document of *limitations,* one that should be construed in the light of that principle, and not a charter that should receive a tortured construction to meet the personal idiosyncrasies of individual justices. He was not a hide-bound "conservative" as that word is used today, as evidenced by his championing of procedural reform in the courts, his long and successful fight for improved working conditions for American seamen, his advocacy of the postal savings bank bill, his struggle to secure

a workmen's compensation act, and his very "liberal" opinion in the case of Funk *vs.* United States.

In addition to interestingly and calmly appraising the worthwhile judicial career of the justice, the author writes very entertainingly of the highlights of the administration of the first Roosevelt as well as of the Taft and Wilson administrations. This volume should interest all students of American constitutional history.

LEO A. ROVER

Washington, D. C.

The Hinge of Fate. The Second World War. Volume IV. By Winston S. Churchill. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1950. Pp. xvi, 1000. $6.00.)

This volume of the superb memoirs of Mr. Churchill continues the story from January 17, 1942, and ends with plans made in June, 1943, for the invasion of Sicily. Thus it includes the dramatic details of defeats in the Far East and in North Africa, balanced by the equally interesting accounts of the subsequent rise of allied fortunes in Africa and the Mediterranean Sea—accompanied by the Russian turn of events at Stalingrad—in short, the "end of the beginning" of a successful allied prosecution of the war. The volume title is very appropriate.

Readers of the first part of *The Hinge of Fate* may catch some hints of disillusionment over the immediate results of America's having been brought into the war in December, 1941. "When I reflect how I have longed and prayed for the entry of the United States into the war," Churchill wrote to President Roosevelt, in March of 1942, "I find it difficult to realise how gravely our British affairs have deteriorated. . . ." American power would not be available in sufficient force to roll back the enemy until 1943 or 1944, and meanwhile British forces were drawn thin all over the map. The mode and timing of our getting into the war had not simplified matters for our friends.

So much seemed to depend on the Russians in 1942 that relations with Stalin were critical and, of course, that story takes up considerable space in this volume. Churchill was never carried away, and he records with no comment Roosevelt's statement, "I know you will not mind my being brutally frank when I tell you that I think I can personally handle Stalin better than either your Foreign Office or my State Department. Stalin hates the guts of all your top people. He thinks he likes me better, and I hope he will continue to do so" (p. 201). Nevertheless, it was Churchill who established the first personal highest level contact, bearing news of a necessary postponement of a second front in Europe. The visit was the usual Soviet mixture of entertainment and pressure, friendly conversation alternating with sharp exchanges. Churchill parried every offensive re-

mark without losing his temper, but he was not tempted to forget, no matter how flexible he had to be, that he was on a mission to "this sullen, sinister Bolshevik State I had once tried so hard to strangle at its birth, and which, until Hitler appeared, I had regarded as the mortal foe of civilized freedom" (p. 475). One of the most revealing passages in this book deals with a conversation between the Russian and the British leaders about the history of the enforcement of collective farming methods in the U.S.S.R. "Ten millions," said Stalin, holding up his hands and referring to the stubborn Kulaks. The great bulk of them, he declared, "were very unpopular and were wiped out by their labourers" (p. 499). Churchill's reaction was that, "With the World War going on all round us it seemed vain to moralize aloud." He survived the ordeal with no more damage than a splitting headache, for him an unusual affliction.

To do justice to all of the thousand pages would require a very long review. There is the matter of the Katyn massacre of some 8,000 Polish officers, a story told so as to leave little room for doubt as to Russian responsibility for their extermination. There are pages on the Cripps mission to India, and on British politics at home. Empire relations were affected when the Japanese menace persuaded Australian Prime Minister Curtin to refuse to divert homeward bound divisions to the defense of Burma. Military and naval actions are masterfully described, just as in the earlier volumes. On all that relates to America's Vichy policy and the North African invasion—the Darlan episode—Churchill is realistic and magnanimous, but here there is little information not already disclosed. Perhaps, the greatest compliment would be to say that the reviewer will be very happy to see the next instalment and hopes it will be just as lengthy as this one.

JOHN T. FARRELL

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

At the business meeting of the Association in New York on last December 29 the secretary explained a project which he had laid before the Executive Council on the previous day. It involved the sponsorship by the Association of the proposed publication of a critical and definitive edition of the papers of Archbishop John Carroll of Baltimore, father of the American hierarchy. The idea grew out of the broad and ambitious program of the National Historical Publications Commission, to encourage and further the publication of the papers of leading Americans in all walks of life (see the January issue of the REVIEW, p. 480).

The Executive Council was of the opinion that the Association should give all the assistance it possibly could to this worthy project and it, therefore, authorized the treasurer to advance $1,000 during the next two years to get the work on the Carroll Papers underway. The council likewise authorized the secretary to appoint a committee to supervise the undertaking and to keep in contact with the N.H.P.C. and its executive director. Acting in pursuance of the authority given to him by the council, the secretary named the following committee, of which the President of the Association and the secretary are *ex officio* members: Henry J. Browne, archivist of the Catholic University of America, where the work will be centered, secretary of the committee, Charles H. Metzger, S.J., of West Baden College, author of a learned monograph and a number of scholarly articles on Catholics in the period of the American Revolution, and Annabelle M. Melville of St. Joseph College, author of the recent scholarly biography, *Elizabeth Bayley Seton* (New York, 1951), and of a popular life of Archbishop Carroll, still in manuscript.

The first task of the committee will be to locate all the Carroll Papers. The great majority of them, of course, are in the archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and the Most Reverend Francis P. Keough, Archbishop of Baltimore, has given his consent that the Carroll documents housed in that archives should be photographically copied for the committee's use. Other papers of Carroll are at the Georgetown University, the University of Notre Dame, Stonyhurst College, England, and presumably in the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda and of the Jesuit generalate in Rome. Readers of the REVIEW will be kept informed from time to time on the progress of the work and they are requested to send to the secretary of the committee any information concerning the whereabouts of John Carroll items that they may possess. At the annual meeting of the Association in Washington next Christmas

week the secretary of the committee will report on what has been accomplished.

The John Gilmary Shea Prize of $200, offered by the American Catholic Historical Association for an outstanding work on the history of the Church published in 1951, was awarded at the thirty-second annual meeting of the Association in New York on December 29 to George William Paré of the Archdiocese of Detroit for his volume, *The Catholic Church in Detroit, 1701-1888,* Father Paré, who was born and spent his childhood in St. Anne's Parish, the mother church of Detroit, traces his paternal ancestry in the Detroit area back to 1765. After graduating from Assumption College, Sandwich, Ontario, in 1906 he entered Mount Saint Mary Seminary of the West in Cincinnati and was ordained to the priesthood in July, 1909. After ten years spent in various parochial assignments Father Paré became a member of the faculty of Sacred Heart Seminary in Detroit, where he taught until June, 1929. He was then released from teaching duties to begin his research on a diocesan history.

The thoroughness with which Father Paré pursued his task is evidenced in his book which reveals an extensive use of original manuscript materials from ecclesiastical archives in Baltimore, Detroit, Cincinnati, Quebec, Washington, and St. Louis. In addition to diocesan archives and the archives of numerous religious communities, the author exploited fully the riches of the Burton Historical Collection in the Detroit Public Library. He enjoyed the advice and guidance of Milo M. Quaife, for many years the secretary-editor of the Burton Collection and himself a recognized authority on the history of the Detroit area. *The Catholic Church in Detroit* traces the history of Catholicism in southeastern Michigan from the earliest contacts of the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century to the end of the administration of Bishop Caspar H. Borgess, who resigned the See of Detroit in March, 1887. It is a volume which will have an enduring value not only for the historian of American Catholicism but for the general reader as well. Father Paré's work merited the high praise of Frank R. Woodford, author of a biography of General Lewis Cass of Michigan, who said of it in the Detroit *Free Press* of August 13, 1951: "When Detroit begins to count the solid achievements resulting from its 250th birthday festival, its people ought to find, high on the list, the splendid new book, *The Catholic Church in Detroit.* . . . Father Paré writes with an easy, comfortable style; always sure of his facts and with generous documentation. He has done a tremendous service to this community in thus recording its past." The volume may be secured from the Gabriel Richard Press, 1234 Washington Boulevard, Detroit 26, Michigan, for $6.00.

The American Catholic Historical Association awards the John Gilmary Shea Prize in those years when the committee judges that a work of

outstanding quality in the history of the Church in the United States or abroad has merited it. Information concerning the prize may be secured by addressing the Secretary of the Association, The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D. C.

The Committee on Program for the 1952 convention of the Association held its first meeting on January 25. The general outlines of the subjects and personnel for the various sessions were worked out. John H. Kennedy, formerly of Yale University and presently with the headquarters of the United States Air Force in Washington, is chairman of the committee and is being assisted by J. Manuel Espinosa of the Division of Cultural Co-operation of the Department of State and Harry W. Kirwin of Loyola College, Baltimore.

On October 23, 1951, the library of Gabriel Richard, S.S., was transferred from Sacred Heart Seminary, Detroit, to the Rackham Building at the University of Michigan. The transfer came about as a result of the request made by President Harlan Hatcher of Michigan of Edward Cardinal Mooney, Archbishop of Detroit. In view of the leading role that Father Richard played in the founding of the University of Michigan in 1817 President Hatcher was anxious to acquire the collection. The books of the famous Sulpician missionary priest consisted of over 240 volumes—all in good condition—of which about ninety percent were in French and devoted principally to philosophical and theological subjects. But there were also items in astronomy, physics, geometry, medicine, and navigation, with most of the scientific works bearing an Amsterdam imprint. The earliest imprint was a 1681 edition of *Le chemin de perfection de sainte Thérèse* and the latest was a Spanish-English grammar published at Philadelphia in 1810. Of special interest was a translation of the gospel of St. John into the Mohawk language, a publication of the American Bible Society. At the time of Richard's death in September, 1832, it was believed that he had the largest private library in Detroit. A photostat copy of his will listed around 500 titles in his possession at death, and a further search will be made in an effort to discover the missing items. The books were kept in the rectory of old St. Anne's Church until 1886, then removed to the bishop's residence, and finally in 1924 transferred to the library of Sacred Heart Seminary. Since the University of Michigan had already acquired the library of the Reverend John Monteith, the Presbyterian minister who served as the first president during Richard's time as vice-president of the institution, the libraries at Ann Arbor now possess the original cultural resources of their earliest university officials.

For some years Miss Mildred Connelly of the Department of English of Wayne University has been engaged in writing a definitive biography of Gabriel Richard and it is expected that the work will be ready for publication some time during the present year.

The Archives of the University of Notre Dame has recently received from Albert F. Zahm, pioneer scientist in the field of aeronautics now living in retirement in Washington, a collection of autograph letters to Dr. Zahm from Wilbur and Orville Wright at the time they were preparing their experimental flights. Included in the collection is a stamp cover from Kitty Hawk, North Carolina. Dr. Zahm had previously given the manuscripts and copies of his writings in the field of aeronautics to the University, where he and his brother, Father John A. Zahm, C.S.C., were at one time pioneers in scientific study.

The charge against the Americanists of the 1890's that they were too greatly influenced by American Protestantism raises an interesting question. At the time American Catholics resented the suggestion, and there is little doubt that American Catholic teaching has felt little influence from Protestant theology. But in the cultural sphere the actual influence of puritanical customs has been very great where the Catholics were a scattered minority, and that includes most of the rural areas which are the sources of the dominant cultural groups even in the urban areas. Probably the greatest check in recent decades to the infiltration of Protestant culture has been the spread of frequent Communion and of the popular devotional practices among the Catholic people. In public life where Catholics have been proportionately fewer, advancement socially and politically has demanded acceptance of the cultural traditions of the majority. This problem has played a rather interesting part in critical Catholic comments on the volume of William F. Buckley, Jr., about Yale University.

Students of the Church in the United States have long been aware of the "cultural lag" which marked nineteenth-century Catholicism in this country. That fact is brought home again to anyone who examines the two-volume survey of American literature that has been prepared for this generation. [*Literary History of the United States.* New York: Macmillan Company, 1949.] According to the standards of the contributors and editors, there was no Catholic contribution between the missionary literature of the Jesuits and the Recollects and the writings of Bishop John Lancaster Spalding of Peoria. Spalding is deemed worthy of the judgment that he "argued with engaging charm for the primacy of spiritual values in the here as well as the hereafter" (II, 971).

If one were prompted to wonder why at least Orestes Brownson might not have merited some comment, an introductory passage on European background by Howard Mumford Jones might possibly offer a little cold light:

> We are, however, so bemused by the historical fame of Mrs. Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and other victims or examples of intolerance in an intolerant time that we overlook the darkest heritage of the Reformation in American

history—the hatred of the Catholic faith. Not merely were Tudor voyages directed toward defeating Spain; not merely did Elizabeth encourage legends about Catholic plots against her life; but this prejudice also landed at Jamestown, at Plymouth, swarmed up the Shenandoah Valley, ended the well-meant experiment of Baltimore in Maryland, and, save for a brief period during and after the American Revolution, still conditions the folkways of "old Americans" in dealing with their newer fellow citizens. It is also an unexpressed assumption of American literary history that Protestantism is intellectually more important than Catholicism, and that, for example, Jonathan Edwards or Emerson is of greater cultural importance than Bishop England of Charleston or Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. The United States derives from the Protestant Reformation a *Kulturkampf* like in kind, though not in present intensity, to that of sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. It is one of the longest-lived and one of the most baffling inheritances to reach us from the sixteenth century world (I, 14).

There is need of a serious critical history of American Catholic literary effort, a work which will not be an easy task. Much Catholic writing in the theological and philosophical field has lacked literary excellence. The powerful essays of Orestes A. Brownson and of some of the lesser publicists are difficult to classify, although Brownson's own caustic pen had considerable influence in determining the quality of Catholic literary efforts in his day. The claims and counter-claims about the possibility of an American Catholic novel must be investigated. American Catholic literature must include in some way many foreign publications, either from England and Ireland or from other countries by translation, which were commonly read by American Catholics. Early American Catholic poets were minor but did keep alive a Catholic tradition in subject matter.

In 1867 the University of Notre Dame gave to Major General William T. Sherman for a period of twenty-five years a scholarship at the University to be assigned by the general to a young man of his choice. According to the general's notation on the document awarding the scholarship it was assigned for ten years to William Carson, the son of Kit Carson. Unfortunately for young Carson, he failed in reading, writing, and arithmetic and was forced to leave the University. His scholastic failure did not affect him adversely, since he later became very successful in trading and other frontier business ventures.

A proposal for microfilming Volumes XV (1929-30) through XXXV (1949-50) of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW (constituting 11,972 pages) has been prepared by Eugene P. Willging, Director of Libraries, Catholic University of America, whereby the twenty volumes would be supplied in positive 35mm microfilm at a cost of approximately $90.00 and possibly 10% less if more than five subscribers are procured. The opening date has been determined by the fact that the *Catholic Peri-*

odical Index began with the April, 1929, issue for indexing purposes. Issues prior to Volume XV may also be considered for filming if the demand warrants.

Mathias M. Hoffman, pastor of St. Francis Xavier Church, Dyersville, Iowa, is writing the history of the Abbey of Our Lady of New Melleray near Dubuque. The Trappists founded this second permanent house in the United States in June, 1849, and Monsignor Hoffman's work will, therefore, be a centennial volume. Readers of the REVIEW will remember his able volume, *Church Founders of the Northwest. Loras and Cretin* (Milwaukee, 1937), and other writings in the Catholic history of the Middle West.

The America Press of 70 E. 45th Street, New York City 17, has recently issued a pamphlet of interest and value for a current question. It is *Diplomatic Relations with the Vatican* by Robert A. Graham, S.J., and Robert C. Hartnett, S.J., both of the editorial staff of *America*. The pamphlet, which sells for 25¢, contains appendices giving the text of the letter of Professor Edward S. Corwin to the New York *Times* of November 12, 1951, on the constitutional aspects of the appointment of General Clark, a list of the countries having diplomatic relations with the Vatican, and a three-page bibliography.

The winter issue of *Thought* has three brief discussions of "Blanshardian Democracy," of Jacques Maritain's *Man and the State*, and of James Hastings Nichols' *Democracy and the Churches*.

The December, 1951, issue of *St. Meinrad Essays* is devoted to a series of three very creditable student essays on the subject of Church and State in the United States with emphasis on its relation to education. These carefully documented brief studies and the attractive dress in which the abbey's press has put them should interest other seminary groups in similar undertakings. The single issue sells for 50¢ from the St. Meinrad Seminary, St. Meinrad, Indiana.

Research workers in American history will be interested to learn that they may secure a reprint of the excellent contribution of Professor Ray A. Billington of Northwestern University to the December, 1951, issue of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* entitled, "Guides to American History Manuscript Collections in Libraries of the United States," for 50¢ by writing to Peter Smith, Publisher, 321 Fifth Avenue, New York City 16.

The annual meeting of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York was held on the evening of December 11. John B. Sheering, C.S.P., editor of the *Catholic World*, read a paper on "The Development of the Catholic Magazine in the History of American Journalism."

The eighth annual institute in the preservation and administration of archives, which is conducted each summer at the National Archives, will open on June 16 and close on July 11. Professor Ernst Posner of the American University will again direct the institute, and interested parties should contact him at 1901 F Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C. On the same dates the third annual institute of genealogical research will be held.

Alice E. Smith, chief of research of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, is attempting to locate and compile a list of well-known Wisconsin figures whose papers have remained unpublished and are deemed worthy of being placed in print. The society is searching for papers and records of leaders and organizations in Wisconsin history. Though many such records have been found, others are still hidden in attics or desks. Similar projects should be systematically carried on throughout the country.

The *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences for November are devoted to "The Search for National Security," and for January to "Social Contributions by the Aging."

Professor Lynn M. Case of the University of Pennsylvania and Professor Daniel H. Thomas of the University of Rhode Island are the joint editors of a handbook on the diplomatic archives of western Europe which will be published as a *Festschrift* by former students and friends of Emeritus Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania. The volume will contain chapters by Arthur J. May, Daniel H. Thomas, Waldemar Westergaard, Vincent Confer, Raymond J. Sontag, Mary Lucille Shay, Florence Janson Sheriff, Manoel Cardozo, Arthur P. Whitaker, Lynn M. Case, Oran J. Hale, Sam Davis, and Richard Heindel. Two or three chapters have not yet been assigned. We are pleased to note that three members of the Association are collaborating on the project.

The first volumes of the projected ten-volume *Historia de la nación cubana* will shortly begin to appear under the editorship of Ramiro Guerra y Sánchez, José M. Pérez Cabrera, Juan J. Remos y Rubio, and Emeterio S. Santovenia y Echaide. Subscriptions for the series, at $40 each, are being received at Avenida de Simón Bolívar, 107, altos, Havana.

The Brazilian collection of the late Col. Frank Hull of Fortaleza, Brazil, has been acquired by Cornell University. Of interest primarily for historians, it comprises a total of 4,000 volumes.

The Commission on History of the Pan American Institute of Geography and History, with headquarters in Mexico City, has just received a grant of $30,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation to support, over a

two-year period, the Commission's history of America project. Dr. Silvio Zavala is the general editor.

Beginning with Vol. II, the *Inter-American Review of Bibliography*, an organ of the Division of Philosophy, Letters, and Sciences of the Pan American Union, whose editor is Dr. Maury Bromsen, will appear three times a year. Many technical improvements will be introduced in the journal, and it will be increased in size. The second number of the review for 1952 will be in honor of the first centennial of the birth of the great Chilean bibliographer, José Toribio Medina. The Pan American Union is presently making further plans to celebrate the occasion.

In the January issue of the *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa* Father Clemens Stroick, O.M.I., presents a thirty-page review of the last five works of the late Monsignor Grabmann.

The issue of the *Australasian Catholic Record* for July, 1951, carries a lengthy and well-documented note by Monsignor T. Veech on Burchard, papal master of ceremonies from Sixtus IV to Julius II, and his *Liber notarum*.

The November, 1951, issue of the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* publishes a summary of the doctoral thesis of Joyce A. Youings, "The Disposal of Monastic Property in Land in the County of Devon, with special reference to the period of 1536-58." Theses Supplement Number 12 of the *Bulletin* carries a list of the topics presented by candidates for the M.A. and the Ph.D. in the universities of the United Kingdom. Nine pages are devoted to theses completed in 1950 and thirty-seven to theses in progress. Many of the subjects are of interest to church historians: e.g., C. H. Lawrence, "A Critical Study and Edition of the Biographies of St. Edmund of Abingdon, Archbishop of Canterbury," under the direction of Professor Sir Maurice Powicke, and P. L. Wright, "The Political Theories of Robert Parsons," under B. Fitzgibbon, both in progress at the University of Oxford.

Volume II of *Thought Patterns*, published by St. John's University, Brooklyn, New York, has besides several articles devoted to psychology and the spiritual life, the University's 1950 St. Vincent de Paul Lecture on "St. Vincent de Paul and the Mystical Body," by Father John P. McGowan, C.M.

The External Research Staff of the Office of Intelligence Research of the Department of State some months ago initiated a project for cataloging recent and current non-government social science research on countries and areas outside the United States. A list of any given subject can

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be had by writing to the Chief, External Research Staff, Room 602, State Annex No. 1, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C.

The REVIEW congratulates the Very Reverend Jerome D. Hannan on his appointment as Vice-Rector of the Catholic University of America. A native of Pittsburgh, Father Hannan has been a member of the Faculty of Canon Law of the University during the past decade. He is the author of a volume on the canonical aspects of wills and has just completed a two-volume textbook of canon law. He is the founder and editor of the *Jurist.*

The Alexander Hamilton Medal of the Alumni Association of Columbia College, awarded annually for distinguished service and accomplishment in any field of endeavor, was presented on February 22 to Carlton J. H. Hayes. Professor Hayes was a member of the Columbia class of 1904. In 1931 he was President of the American Catholic Historical Association.

On January 24 the honorary degree of Litt.D., was conferred by the University of Oxford on David Knowles, O.S.B., the distinguished professor of mediaeval history in the University of Cambridge. His writings on English monasticism have received wide acclaim among scholars.

Thomas E. Downey, assistant professor in charge of the Latin American history program at the University of Notre Dame, has taken a leave of absence to enter the foreign service of the Department of State in Brazil. During his absence Assistant Professor James A. Llorens will be in charge of the Latin American history program.

The April 1951 number of *Recherches de science religieuse* forms the first volume of the *Mélanges Jules Lebreton,* commemorating the sixtieth year of the distinguished professor of the Institut Catholique as a member of the Society of Jesus. This first volume, largely devoted to Scriptural studies, has some articles on the early history of the Church. These are listed in our Periodical Literature.

A *Festschrift Franz Dölger zum 60. Geburtstage gewidmet,* edited by Johannes M. Hoeck, appears as the latest issue of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* (Band 44, Heft 1/2, 1951). Franz Dölger, successor of Karl Krumbacher as the editor of that great periodical, and of August Heisenberg as professor of Byzantine studies at Munich, is honored with a long list of articles by scholars from many countries. The volume begins with a thirty-five page bibliography of Dölger's own writings. A few of the articles in the *Festschrift* that have special interest for historians are listed in our Periodical Literature.

May 10 of this year will mark the centennial of the first of the famous lectures of John Henry Newman on university education, which he delivered on that date in the Rotunda in Dublin. These lectures were later published as *The Idea of a University* and carried the memorable inscription in which Newman thanked his many friends who had come forth to assist him during the course of the Achilli libel suit. It was to that sore trial that the author was referring when he said the prayer and alms of his friends "have broken for him the stress of a great anxiety."

Professor Edouard Perroy writes a tribute to Louis Halphen, who died on October 7, 1950, in the October issue of *Revue historique*.

Louis Bréhier, professor emeritus in the Faculty of Letters, Clermont-Ferrand, and a member of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, died recently. He was well known for his publications on the crusades and on Byzantine history. His latest work, *Le monde byzantin*, in three volumes, was completed in 1950.

Gerald Groveland Walsh, S.J., professor of mediaeval history in Fordham University, died on December 17 at the age of fifty-nine. Born in South Norwalk, Connecticut, Father Walsh received his elementary education from the Sisters of Loretto in Hamilton, Ontario, and at the Boulevard School at Kingston upon Hull, England. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1910 and made his novitiate at Roehampton, England. He later studied at Stonyhurst and Campion Hall, Oxford, receiving the master's degree at the University of Oxford in 1924. After theology at Woodstock College he was ordained to the priesthood in 1926 and later pursued studies at the Gregorian University, Rome, where he took the Ph.D. and S.T.D. degrees. He served as professor of church history at Woodstock from 1929 to 1934 and was then appointed as professor of mediaeval history in the Gregorian University, where he taught until 1937. In that year he joined the faculty of Fordham University.

Father Walsh published his work on *The Emperor Charles IV* in 1924, his *Medieval Humanism* in 1942, and his *Dante Alighieri, Citizen of Christendom* in 1946. He served as editor of *Thought*, the quarterly journal of Fordham University, from 1939 to 1949. During his academic career Father Walsh won a number of distinctions, among them the Cobden Club Prize for political economy in 1909 and the Marquis of Lothian Prize and Gibbs Scholarship in modern history at the University of Oxford in 1923. In the following year he took first class honors in history at Oxford. In 1945 he gave the Lowell Lecture in Boston.

Father Walsh was one of the most loyal members that the American Catholic Historical Association had since he enrolled in 1928. He con-

tributed to a number of annual meetings with formal papers, served the Association as Second Vice President in 1940, and was on the program for the joint session with the American Historical Association in New York on last December 30. Besides the sound erudition which he displayed to great advantage on subjects such as mediaeval humanism, and his special knowledge of Dante, his gracious manner and pleasing personality endeared him to many who met him only at the annual gatherings of the historians as well as to those who knew him intimately.

Frederick P. Kenkel died in St. Louis on February 16 at the age of eighty-eight. Mr. Kenkel was long identified with Catholic German-language groups in this country, having served as managing editor of *Amerika* of St. Louis from 1905 to 1920 and as editor for many years of the *Social Justice Review*. Since 1909 he had been director of the Bureau of the Central Verein of America, and at its St. Louis headquarters he had helped to assemble an immense amount of material for the history of the German-Catholics in the United States. Mr. Kenkel was awarded the Laetare Medal by the University of Notre Dame in 1930 and he was honored by the Holy See in being made a Knight of St. Gregory and a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.

Documents: Two unpublished Letters of John Cochlaeus. H. E. Rope (*Histor. Bull.*, Nov.).—Letter of Fray Juan del Hierro, Minister General of the Franciscan Order, to the Mexican Consulado (Madrid, May 11, 1613), regarding the Missions of Japan. José M. Pouy Martí (Ed.). (*Americas*, Jan.).—Two Petitions of Frei Cristóvão de Lisboa, O.F.M., Custos of Maranhão, to the King (October, 1623), Luiza de Fonseca (Ed.). (*ibid.*).

BRIEF NOTICES

AARON, DANIEL. *Men of Good Hope. A Story of American Progressives.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 329. $4.00.)

The major part of this book is concerned with men called "old progressives"—Ralph Waldo Emerson, Theodore Parker, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, Henry D. Lloyd, William Dean Howells, and Thorstein Veblen. These men, believers in "discoverable utopia," were "prophetic agitators" whose values were primarily idealistic and ethical. As unabashed visionaries they are to be distinguished, the author holds, from latter-day leaders "who were exponents of a pragmatic and opportunistic progressivism—Theodore Roosevelt, Brooks Adams, Woodrow Wilson, Herbert Croly, and Franklin D. Roosevelt." The sharp contrast drawn between the "old progressives" and the "new liberals" is overdone, to say the least; but conceding the tenability of the thesis, the author fails to establish it. Though he convincingly shows that Brooks Adams was not, as is generally assumed, truly progressive but rather imperialist and Darwinian in social outlook, and that he influenced Theodore Roosevelt, he is unable—indeed, scarcely attempts—to prove that their "pseudo-progressivism" applies to Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt, also "latter-day progressives." The author implies that the alleged shortcomings of recent progressives stem from timidity, flirtation with communists, and pragmatic motivation. Thus the New Deal was a technical rather than a moral reform and left intact the power structure of American society, "even admitting the large and probably lasting gains of organized labor."

Had the author included in his survey some of the more prominent Christian social thinkers he would have discovered more continuity in the progressive movement. The late Monsignor John A. Ryan, for example, was preoccupied in his later life with the minutiae of reform without sacrificing his earlier "radical progressivism" or becoming unduly pragmatic in thinking and outlook. (Aaron I. Abell)

ALMOND, GABRIEL A. *The American People and Foreign Policy.* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co. 1950. Pp. x, 269. $3.75.)

This work is a product of the Yale University Institute of International Studies. It is a study in social psychology, not particularly useful to the historian, but of general interest as "a structural analysis of American attitudes toward foreign policy." The environment in which policy decisions are made, the historic trends of culture and character in the United States, the shifts and fluctuations in mass moods and attitudes since the end of World War II, and the structure and ideologies of the foreign policy elites—these are the main divisions of subject matter which Mr. Almond treats with acknowledged indebtedness to the methods of Professor Harold D. Lasswell. The reader is constantly reminded that the people in a democracy do not make foreign policy, but that they rather "buy" such from the various opinion-making elites, politicians, spokesmen for interest groups, publicists, and religious leaders. Nevertheless, "The myth of demo-

cratic spontaneity and mass control still holds sway 'above the counter,' only to trouble the literal minds of young people, and older people who have resisted the impact of experience" (p. 231). The principal issue in the formulation of present policy is that of the 'cold war,' and here the author takes as the norm of sanity the policy of the "containment" of Soviet Russia. No attempt is made to evaluate the advantages or disadvantages of that policy. The conclusions are vague and somewhat disturbing. The people are inert at present, but they show a considerable potential for extremely erratic conduct. On the other hand, none of the "elites," as defined here, qualify for genuine leadership. Mr. Almond may not have given us the last word on the subject. (John T. Farrell)

BAILLIE, JOHN. *The Belief in Progress.* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1951. Pp. viii, 240. $2.75.)

During World War II Gabriel Peri, a French communist condemned to death, wrote that he was going to prepare for "singing tomorrows." And in the eighteenth century Condorcet, in hiding from Robespierre, penned a treatise, *Sketch of a Historical Picture of the Progress of the Human Spirit.* Their belief in progress has been a unique mark of modern times. Millions of people have moved and thought under the spell of this deceptive mysticism.

The present volume is an attempt to break the spell of this idea by seeking out in the historical past all instances where this belief was found in some form or other, and then analyzing the causes of such belief and its historical validity. The author is a professor of divinity in the University of Edinburgh and chaplain to the King in Scotland, and he bases his remarks upon the study of historical and philosophical literature. Originally a series of lectures to students in Edinburgh, the book does not lay claim to new material or originality of interpretation. It is in short an attack upon false utopianism. The history of progress is a different tale from the history of belief in it. Thus the Greeks, the Romans, the early Christian writers, and the Renaissance writers observed empirically that their civilizations were an advance from barbarism or simpler civilizations, but absent was the firm conviction that such progress would continue. Their concept of progress was the accumulation of knowledge or the improvement of living conditions. None prophesied the complete change of humanity or society. That belief takes seed in the Renaissance, and is finally heralded in the eighteenth century, and soon becomes dogma.

The author's view is that progress is the history of grace within the individual, and progress as the unfolding of God's divine will by the co-operation of society with the grace of God. Hence any philosophy which teaches progress on other grounds is Christian heresy, for they have but materialized the original Christian concept. (Margaret P. Lynch)

CUYLER YOUNG, T., (Ed.), *Near Eastern Culture and Society.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. vii, 250. $4.00.)

Volume fifteen of the Princeton Oriental Studies presents a symposium on the meeting of Islamic East and Christian West. This is the fruit of the Conference

on Near Eastern Culture held as part of the celebration of the Princeton bicentennial in 1947. Part I, the West meets the East, is given over to the progress and future prospects of Islamic studies in literature, science, and religion, analyzed by von Grunebaum, Arberry, Sarton, and Calverley, all well-known names in Islamic scholarship. Part II, the East meets the West, does not come off as successfully, perhaps, because present conditions in the East are in such a turmoil and it is difficult to assess the truly valuable acquisitions of the East from the West. Special chapters on Iran by Cuyler Young and Turkey by Adnan-Adivar and Lewis V. Thomas will interest students of modern history. The most penetrating contributions are written by Habib Kurani of the American University of Beirut and H. A. R. Gibb of Oxford. The introductory chapter by the editor reviews summarily all of the contributions in this volume. (Roland E. Murphy)

DANIEL, WALTER. *The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx*. Edited by F. M. Powicke. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. cii, 88. $3.50.)

Though not widely known, St. Ailred is one of the most attractive personalities of mediaeval England. A native of the conservative north at the beginning of the twelfth century, he is a link between the old Anglo-Saxon and the new Norman age. In his early twenties he became a monk in the Cistercian abbey of Rievaulx, and there, except for a few years at the daughter house of Revesby, the rest of his life was spent. But it was not spent in undisturbed quiet contemplation; he was a busy man as a novice-master, and then as abbot; and his personal qualities led to his being used at various times to bring peace in the troubled north.

Shortly after his death one of his monks wrote a biography. It has some of the defects of mediaeval hagiography, and Walter Daniel is not so attractive a figure as Ailred; but it does come from the immediate circle of those who had known and loved Ailred, and it is an excellent supplement to the saint's own writings in making him known to us.

Compendia of Walter's book have been known since the fourteenth century. The single MS. which still contains the entire work was noticed in 1865; but only thirty years ago was it introduced to the public, by Professor Powicke himself, and large extracts printed. Now we are indebted to editor and publisher for an excellent, complete edition. As in the other volumes of the Medieval Classics, Latin and English texts face each other on opposite pages; and there are a hundred pages of introduction which supply answers to most possible questions about Walter's text. However, it may be noted that the editor does not intend to complete Ailred's own writings, which sometimes make more attractive reading than Walter's. The reviewer wishes Professor Powicke had also printed the rare text of Ailred's *The Saints of Hexham*, which is partly autobiographical and which is most interesting for its picture of local religious conditions at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The only faults of which this reviewer can complain are two or three turns of expression in the English translation. Let us hope that many Catholic readers will appreciate this work done for one of our most lovable saints by one of the greatest mediaeval scholars of England. (Carleton M. Sage)

DE PANGE, JEAN. *Le roi très chrétien.* (Paris: Librairie Arthème Fayard. 1949. Pp. 448.)

The idea of Christian monarchy in France from the time of Clovis to Charles VII is the ambitious theme of this work. The author's contention is that the French mediaeval monarchy gradually became imbued with a unique sacerdotal character which gave the kings an acknowledged pre-eminence among Christian princes. Only in France did a royal religion develop, the basis of which was the holy unction especially provided by God for the consecration of French kings. Even after the number of sacraments had been definitely set at seven, many French political thinkers had difficulty reconciling themselves to the fact that there was not an eighth sacrament reserved for the king at the time of his coronation. So much did the royal consecration have in common with the episcopal that Innocent III felt constrained to distinguish between the method of anointing employed in the two rituals. (Subsequent kings, however, disregarded the Pope's pronouncement and continued to use the old ritual.)

Although poorly organized and somewhat discursive, this volume explores in a competent and scholarly manner a subject which has hardly been touched by contemporary historians. It is not a definitive work, and was not intended to be, but it is a valuable contribution. (L. Léon Bernard)

FERM, VERGILIUS. (Ed.). *A History of Philosophical Systems.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1950. Pp. xiv, 642. $6.00.)

In producing this co-operative volume the editor and the forty contributors have placed their "emphasis upon periods of thought and upon broad characterizations of schools and systems," and have tried to indicate "the general trend or course of thought of a particular time, school or group of thinkers." The work is divided into two parts: "Ancient and Medieval" and "Modern and Recent." Its nature can best be shown by listing the titles of the various chapters and the names of their authors. They are as follows: "The Story of Indian Philosophy" (Shri Krishna Saksana); "Zoroastrian Philosophy" (Irach J. S. Taraporewala); "Buddhist Philosophical Systems" (Clarence H. Hamilton); "Chinese Philosophy (Confucianism, Moism, Taoism, Legalism)" (H. G. Creel); "Ancient Jewish Philosophy" (Samuel S. Cohon); "The Beginnings of Greek Philosophy" (Gordon H. Clark); "Early Greek Moralists" (Paul R. Helsel); "Platonism" (James H. Dunham); "Aristotelianism" (Henry Veatch); "Hellenistic and Roman Schools of Philosophy" (Gordon H. Clark); "Alexandrian Philosophy" (Eugen Kullmann); "Early Christian Philosophy" (Vergilius Ferm); "Arabic and Islamic Philosophy" (Edward J. Jurji); "Medieval Jewish Philosophy" (Emil L. Fackenheim); "Early Christian Scholasticism" (Richard J. Thompson); "Revived Aristotelianism and Thomistic Philosophy" (Armand Maurer); "Scotism and Ockhamism" (Armand Maurer); "Renaissance Philosophies" (Paul Oskar Kristeller); "Early Modern Rationalism" (Albert G. Ramsperger); "Early Modern Empiricism" (Douglas N. Morgan); "The Philosophy of the Enlightenment" (Charles Frankel), "Kant's Critical Philosophy" (Newton P. Stallknecht); "Classical German Idealism, the Philosophy of Schopenhauer and Neo-Kantianism" (Alban G. Widgery); "Dialectical Materialism" (Siegfried Marck); "English

and American Absolute Idealism" (G. Watts Cunningham); "Positivism" (Charles Frankel); "Personalism" (Edgar Sheffield Brightman); "Phenomenology" (Dorion Cairns); "Early Philosophies of Evolution" (Ray H. Dotterer); "Vitalism" (Arthur Berndtson); "Pragmatism" (Donald S. Mackay); "Existentialism" (Helmut Kuhn); "The New Materialism" (Roy Wood Sellars); "Varieties of Naturalism" (Vergilius Ferm); "Panpsychism" (Charles Hartshorne); "Contemporary Thomism" (Donald A. Gallagher); "Logical Positivism" (Gustav Bergmann); "Semantics" (Gustav Bergmann); "A Brief History of General Theory of Value" (Stephen C. Pepper); "Recent Schools of Logic" (Albert E. Avey); "Recent Epistemological Schools" (Ledger Wood); "Philosophy of the Sciences" (A. C. Benjamin); "Recent Schools of Aesthetics" (Van Meter Ames); "Recent Schools of Ethics" (Glenn Negley); "Philosophy of History" (Elizabeth Farquhar Flower); "Philosophies of Culture" (Horace Friess); "Philosophies of Religion" (Vergilius Ferm).

This is a long list of wide-spreading subjects, some of which, especially those in the last quarter of the book, are difficult to reconcile with its title. Since the articles, including notes and bibliographies, average only about thirteen pages, it is evident that their subjects cannot be treated in too large or thorough a way. In some cases the articles consist for the most part in a succession of names, together with their dates, the titles of certain of their works, and a few short comments upon them. On the other hand, various articles are compressed but good treatments of their subjects. The brief bibliographies that are appended to the several chapters will be helpful to the reader, and the volume as a whole will have value as a reference work. For the student of scholastic thought, the material on western thought in Part I and certain chapters in Part II will be of most interest.

The present reviewer is not in sympathy with works of this sort. *A History of Philosophical Systems* attempts too much within too small a space. As the product of many hands, it lacks certain virtues that it would possess as the work of a single competent author. In large part, what it offers of value is available in better form in the various standard histories of philosophy and in authoritative accounts of particular men and movements (John K. Ryan)

GINGER, RAY. *The Bending Cross. A Biography of Eugene Victor Debs.* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. 1949. Pp. x, 516. $5.00.)

This book fills an important and what was up to now a seriously empty spot in the story of the American labor movement and also of American radicalism. It is a well-told tale with a journalese ease of style. The book has already been rewarded with an essay prize from the University of Wisconsin and the Ph.D. in American culture from Western Reserve University where the author now teaches economics and is engaged on a life of Clarence Darrow. The research is very thorough and includes dozens of interviews; but the work has a glaring fault due apparently to the publisher's desire for "readability." It does not carry its documentation in the standard way but only by means of a paragraph describing the sources for each chapter. Why have university presses, one may ask, if they do this to scholarly work? A bibliography and adequate index give some indication of the research entailed.

The biography is told sympathetically but realistically in a four-fold mould relating to Debs' role in the railroad brotherhoods, the American Railway Union, American socialism, and world socialism. The story of the federation movement among the railroad unions (1889-1892) is given for the first time anywhere. The Pullman strike of 1894, the perennial presidential candidacy of Debs, the splits among the socialists, the I.W.W., are all covered without losing sight of the central personality. The selected sources of a religious nature that are used provide, apart from the Christian socialists, merely expressions of reaction.

Debs was a labor leader turned socialist reformer who refused to talk before segregated audiences, took more than one drink on occasion, sometimes preached social violence, and then opposed war and won a blessing from Lenin and continually practiced personal charity. Although without formal religion, he wrote, "as we come in touch with each other and draw upon each other for strength and size, and feel the essential unity of the race, we grow tall as gods, our heads are among the stars" (p. 242). (HENRY J. BROWNE)

GOLDEN, HARRY L. and MARTIN RYWELL. *Jews in American History.* (Charlotte: Henry Lewis Martin Co. 1950. Pp. xv, 498. $10.00.)

Fifty years ago this work would have won acceptance among American Jews as a noteworthy record of their participation in American life. It is an uncritical, unscholarly, undocumented, inaccurate collection of data, mainly biographical, about Jewish pioneers, soldiers, philanthropists, politicians, etc., designed to demonstrate that Jews have been good Americans, have contributed their share of eminent men and war-dead, and have thereby justified their admittance through the open doors of the new world. It would be worthwhile as propaganda against anti-Semitism if the Jew-baiter were a man of reason who could be swayed by facts. But as history it is worthless. American Jews have gone far beyond the stage of filio-pietism. They are interested in the works of history which study the life of the unsuccessful Jew, as well as that of his more prosperous fellow, and which investigate the facts of adjustment to American mores and the experiences of community living which are group biography, rather than isolated facts about exceptional individuals. Fortunately, such works are being written. Recent volumes by Lebeson, Schappes, Reznikoff, Goodman, Kisch and others will give the interested student a more balanced and more accurate view of the life and problem of American Jewry than this unfortunate work. (BERTRAM W. KORN)

GORDON, DONALD CRAIGIE. *The Australian Frontier in New Guinea, 1870-1885.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 301. $4.25.)

This investigation of British imperial expansion in the Australian frontier area of New Guinea is an expertly presented study of the causes for the annexation of Papua. The extension of British rule can be attributed mainly to the Australians who feared that possession of Papua by any powerful non-British state might easily become a menace to their security. Their feelings and actions are evidences

that Britain was reluctant to be imperialistic, that the extension of her authority was due to Australian rather than British imperialism.

Individual Australians played a dramatic role in the agitation for annexation, and their efforts, combined with those of their colonial governments, led to a realization that the colonies sorely needed a unity. Out of this realization, and the concern for New Guinea, came the first steps toward the creation of the Australian Commonwealth. The significance of the German overseas policy receives adequate coverage, and there is an excellent analysis of British attitudes toward empire and its problems during 1870-1885. (Fred R. Van Valkenburg)

HALECKI, OSCAR, in collaboration with JAMES F. MURRAY, JR. *Eugenio Pacelli: Pope of Peace.* (New York: Creative Age Press. 1951. Pp. vi, 355. $3.50.)

With wide experience in European foreign affairs, Oscar Halecki is well qualified to write this valuable study of Pope Pius XII. Mr. Halecki, former dean of the University of Warsaw and Polish delegate to the League of Nations, is professor of eastern European history at Fordham University. This volume is not a biography of the Pontiff; rather it is the story of the tireless struggle of a holy and learned man for peace and justice. Here is Eugenio Pacelli as a high school student, as a young priest in Rome, as papal diplomat in Germany, as Cardinal Secretary of State, and, finally, as Pope, zealously working, writing, and preaching for the cause of world peace. Professor Halecki has ably analyzed the speeches and writings of Pius XII of the past forty years. An analysis of pronouncements over such a long period of time might easily be confusing. The author, however, not only avoids confusion; he gives the reader a clear picture of the persevering efforts of Eugenio Pacelli for harmony and tranquility among nations.

Chapters IX, X, and XI were written by James F. Murray, Jr., whose wartime experience in Italy well qualified him to give an authentic account of the Holy Father's personal heroism and self-sacrificing activities during the bombings of Rome. Mr. Murray's chapter on the correspondence between Pius XII and President Roosevelt is provocative. In the first of two appendices Professor Halecki expresses high hopes for the future of the American Church; in the second, he describes the efforts of Pope Pius XII to preserve Christianity in his beloved Italy against the attacks of fascism and communism. The bibliography is short, but good; the index is complete. (JOHN J. DALY)

HAUSER, RICHARD. *Autorität und Macht. Die staatliche Autorität in der neueren protestantischen Ethik und in der katholischen Gesellschaftslehre* (Heidelberg: Lambert Schneider. 1949. Pp. 431. DM 13.60.)

That at no time in German history the *Zeitgeist* favored the Anglo-Saxon notion of the state as the servant, not the master of the people, is a well-known fact. Serious students who attempt to determine the vital components of a strong political tradition, and to investigate its origins, will have to evaluate the full impact of Luther's and Calvin's teachings about the nature of the state and the

essence of secular authority. They will, moreover, have to consider the basic views of leading modern Protestant divines, and the deep significance of their contribution. Few books, if any, could supply more authentic information concerning the chief exponents of modern German Protestantism in regard to a great and knotty problem than Hauser's thorough and brilliant exposition. In four chapters he presents and examines the views and theses of K. Barth, H. Knittermeyer, F. Gogarten, E. Brunner, P. Althaus, W. Wiesner, and G. Wünsch. Point of departure, development of the theme, and conclusions are carefully related to the tenets of the theological position. In spite of numerous and deep-seated divergences there is a surprisingly large area of agreement among these leading representatives of German Protestant thought. They have moved out of the mild zones of nineteenth-century humanism and liberalism, and accept, with a few reservations, the grim reality of an iron age in which nature and scope of political power must be reinterpreted in the light of divine revelation. They exhibit an overstrained tendency to emphasize the irrational character of the state, and a deepened awareness of their close contact with the outlook of the Reformers. The case of Georg Wünsch who is influenced by both Troeltsch's historismus and Carl Schmitt's neo-Machiavellian doctrine, deserves special attention. In a concluding chapter Hauser confronts methods and results of the Protestant quest with the fundamental concepts of some outstanding Catholic authors. (Hans W. L. Freudenthal)

HEALEY, ROBERT C. *A Catholic Book Chronicle. The Story of P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1826-1951.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1951. Pp. 56.)

This brochure is an undocumented but informative report on the development of the firm of P. J. Kenedy from obscure beginnings in a Baltimore book store to a major place in Catholic book publishing. Few will know that it has absorbed such firms as Cunningham, Sadlier, Dunigan, Kirker, Strong, Kelly and Piet, McGrath and, lately, Murphy of Baltimore. At one time we learn that P. F. Collier worked for the firm; the historian Shea electrotyped the plates for the *Key of Heaven*. Beyond its contribution to trade publishing, Kenedy has always been noted for publishing prayerbooks in readable type and for compiling the *Official Catholic Directory*, whose subsidiary mailing lists have been of very considerable commercial value. There are a few minor errors such as re-christening Patrick Donahoe into Peter, and citing incorrect Catholic population estimates for 1850 which should be 1,606,000 instead of 3,103,000. We question the perspective in the statement that Kenedy's competition is no longer limited to Catholic firms, but includes secular firms as well. It is my impression that the general firms such as Longmans, Macmillan, and Appleton have a century-old record in publishing Catholic authors, of which Newman would be a major example. Publishing of Catholic books is "a vital apostolic activity." This anniversary publication should stimulate further portrayals of that apostolate. (Eugene P. Willging)

HILL, ROSCOE R. *American Missions in European Archives.* (Mexico, D. F.: Comisión de historia del instituto panamericano de geografía e historia. 1951. Pp. 138. $10.00 (Mex.).)

This interesting booklet is concerned with a description of the more important American efforts to fulfill the first step in the historical process, viz., the finding of the original materials and bringing them and the researchers together. It deals with the attempts to make accessible for the study of the history of the United States those archival sources which are in Europe. The list of the seven chief pioneer exploiters of such records begins with Jared Sparks and ends with John Gilmary Shea. Individual states did some of this early work also, but the most fruitful undertaking came only in the twentieth century under the Carnegie Institution. The author, who was personally associated with some of the work, describes the making of the famous guides to European documents of American interest, and then the resulting efforts of the Library of Congress to follow up by acquiring transcripts or other types of copies. There is but a brief word on the microfilming programs growing out of World War II. The University of California traveling fellows and their work are listed, but other universities which did not have such an elaborate program of doctoral exploration in European archives are dismissed in a few pages with mention of several scholars who left guides or transcripts. Other interested groups, particularly state historical societies, have also brought some action along these lines in this century but the listing of them here would hardly seem complete.

Monsignor Peter Guilday, late professor at the Catholic University of America and editor of this REVIEW, is one of the many individual scholars not mentioned in this survey. He did, however, assemble about 10,000 transcripts and photostats from European archives and encouraged some of his students to work in and describe some European depositories that had materials of American interest. Some Catholic historical societies, notably that of Philadelphia, formerly had programs for copying documents abroad. All things considered, the time would seem to be ripe for some new American Catholic missions in European archives. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

HOYT, ROBERT S. *The Royal Demesne in English Constitutional History: 1066-1272.* (Ithaca: Published for the American Historical Association by the Cornell University Press. 1950. Pp. ix, 253. $3.50.)

The extent to which feudalism was introduced into England has for a long time occupied the attention of historians. However, a very basic feature of English feudalism, viz., the land held by the king *in dominio*, in his own hand, and not held of the king by someone else, has thus far been relatively neglected. Even Vinogradoff and Maitland in their studies of the royal demesne did not proceed far beyond the legal peculiarities of the ancient demesne. Professor Hoyt has directed his study to a consideration of the wider part which the royal demesne played in the period of England's development into a national monarchy. Beginning with the lands which William the Conqueror acquired and used as the immediate and tangible basis of royal power, the author traces the history of the

demesne as evident from such documents as the *Inquisitio Geldi*, Domesday Book, Northamptonshire Geld Roll, the various Pipe and Close Rolls, and other records of the exchequer and the chancery.

Since the royal lands were the chief source of royal income, the king was not a "good landlord," for he was primarily interested in revenues and, therefore, in the full exploitation of his lands. In exploiting these lands, the kings elaborated fiscal and administrative techniques which were eventually to be applied to the realm as a whole. The royal demesne was thus ultimately connected with the growth of the distinction between crown and king, and was also the means whereby the kings transformed themselves into national monarchs.

By his detailed study into the history of the royal demesne Professor Hoyt has also served to emphasize how much still remains to be explored in this field. He has made a valuable contribution to a difficult problem, and it is hoped that he will himself endeavor in the future to answer some of the unresolved questions concerning the relationship of the demesne to the mediaeval English monarchy. (Anthony F. Czajkowski)

JONES, A. H. M. *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949. Pp. 271. $2.00.)

This is one of the best of the little volumes which has apperred to date in the series, Teach Yourself History Library, edited by A. L. Rowse. While there are no footnotes, every page reveals an intimate knowledge of Constantine and his age based on the sources and on full control of the controversial recent literature. In respect to the problem of Constantine's conversion, Professor Jones' position may be described as critically conservative. He repudiates the radical interpretation of Piganiol as "perversely clever" and sticks pretty closely to that of Baynes. His treatment of the religious history and problems of the period is as discerning as it is sympathetic. In the short "Note on Books," it was a pleasure to find Volumes II and III of Fliche et Martin's *Histoire de l'Eglise*, among the works especially to be recommended. The book has an adequate index. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

JUST, SISTER MARY, O.P. *Immortal Fire. A Journey through the Centuries with the Missionary Great.* (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Co. 1951. Pp. vii, 598. $7.50.)

This volume offers a panoramic view of the spread of the Church. From St. Paul to Bishop Walsh of Maryknoll runs the long list of heroic missionaries whose lives and works are discussed. The author's enthusiasm is communicated to the reader. Nothing is allowed to halt the swift pace of the account as century after century is quickly described and the principal theme of the book unfolded.

No attempt is made to uncover new information. The trained missiologist will not agree with all of the conclusions or theories set forth by the author. And the serious historian will often look in vain for references to source ma-

terial which he knows should have been used, and without the consultation of which he would not dare to write on many of the questions considered here. But Sister Mary Just was obviously not writing this book for the trained missiologist or for the serious historian. Her purpose was to popularize the story of the way God has used men in the spreading of His kingdom on earth, and she has succeeded in accomplishing that purpose. (FRANCIS O. CORCORAN)

KANE, LUCILE M. (Ed. and trans.) *Military Life in Dakota: The Journal of Philippe Régis de Trobriand.* (St. Paul: Alvord Memorial Commission. 1951. Pp. xxv, 395. $7.50.)

In translating this diary of a French-American general stationed at Fort Stevenson in Dakota (1867-1869), Miss Kane has made available a work of more than ordinary value. De Trobriand with rare artistic skill unfolds a panorama of vivid word pictures. Descriptions of a prairie dog town "like a gathering of little gossips chatting on their doorways" (p. 322), of the beaver going "to sleep at peace with his conscience and digestion" (p. 110), and of sterile hills "that could be called the ash piles for the cinders of creation" (p. 33), are interspersed with accounts of Indian powwows, steamboat travel, blinding blizzards, and philosophical reveries. The volume is enriched with twelve reproductions of sketches made by de Trobriand and with a map of the Missouri Valley. (SISTER M. CLAUDIA DURATSCHEK)

KINSEL, PASCHAL, O.F.M., AND LEONARD HENRY, O.F.M. *The Catholic Shrines of the Holy Land.* (New York: Farrar, Strauss and Young. 1951. Pp. 200. $5.00.)

It is debatable whether this work should be placed in the category of history or of photography. The two Franciscans who describe the historical background of Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nazareth, Carmel, and other spots write from long years of acquaintance with these places and shrines. And yet there is not a large amonnt of history in the book. There are 150 original photographs and eight pages in full color. Alfred Wagg, the photographer, knows how to take pictures. Ancient Roman architecture of the second century A.D. comes before us at Jerash. One sees where Mass is celebrated on Christmas night at Bethlehem. Pilgrims making the Way of the Cross in Jerusalem are pictured as well as Palm Sunday processions. The present-day barren site of Capharnaum is visualized for us. Eastern rites as well as the Latin rite may be viewed, as well as the making of vestments.

No rancor is found in these pages. The kindly spirit of the Franciscan prevails, and a spirit of tolerance for the Jew and the Mohammedan strikes the reader. The present is intermingled with the past, as for instance the site of the "No Man's Land" in the present city of Jerusalem. Some readers will be especially interested in the fine churches which the Franciscans have built on Tabor and Mount Olivet with American funds. Perhaps, a few of the "pious traditions" might have been omitted in a book purporting to be history. (William H. Russell)

KNAPP, FRANK AVERILL, JR. *The Life of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, 1823-1889.* (Austin: University of Texas Press. 1951. Pp. xii, 292. $4.00.)

Between 1855 and 1873 Sebastián Lerdo, with Juarez, made permanent the "lay state" in Mexico. Their work should be known. It is here narrated in a form elaborate, thorough, remarkably fair, a clinical study of the politicians and their methods of operation. But what they aimed to accomplish is not dissected; it is uncritically accepted in an intellectual frame of reference most unreal. Knapp makes it a "praiseworthy object" (p. 188) to deny freedom of religion, keep marriage a purely civil matter, forbid church institutions to own property other than the meeting house, outlaw oaths in court, and ban schools that teach religion. Later decrees would kill religious men for these "principles." To achieve the "praiseworthy" ends, Juarez the executive could laugh at his Congress' legislation (p. 155). Lerdo, the legal positivist, held it "would be immoral and unjust to disavow anything which has been done in conformity to the laws" (p. 70). He is unconsciously delineated as the perfect anti-clerical: in youth deeply religious, solidly educated; as an adult "emancipated," intelligent, subtle, eloquent, disingenuous, proud, unboundedly ambitious, yet with velvet-smooth diplomacy at home and abroad; just the man to know better than the Church what is its place in society!

Nowhere in this book is the basic political problem attacked: how to build a government that rests on the ideals and customs of the people. The *puros* knew better, and would remake society! Such history is illusory. It perpetuates misunderstanding of Latin America. (W. EUGENE SHIELS)

LEARY, JOHN P., S.J. (Ed.). *Better a Day. Lives of Fifteen Heroic Brothers of the Society of Jesus.* (New York: Macmillan Co. Pp. vii, 341. $4.00.)

This volume has been written as a tribute to that self-effacing and courageous figure, the Jesuit lay brother, who, by a life of prayer and faithful adherence to duty, has contributed so greatly to the success of his order. The authors, a group of Jesuit priests and seminarians from the west coast of the United States, have selected for their short biographies fifteen lay brothers. The editor, John P. Leary, S.J., notes in the preface that these brothers "have been picked almost at random from literally the four corners of the world, America and Africa, Europe and Asia. They have encountered practically every conceivable situation of significance that has occurred in the last four hundred eventful years" (p. vi).

The book opens with the life of Brother Nicholas Owen, S.J., affectionately nicknamed by his priestly confrères, "Little John." The hiding places for priests, constructed in English Catholic homes by this expert carpenter, baffle the agents of Robert Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's Secretary of State, until his betrayal and subsequent death under torture in 1606. The next biography is that of Brother Carmelo Giordano, S.J. (1860-1948), from Naples, Italy, who combines a rugged piety with a skill in carpentry and first aid, and wins the lasting affection of the Eskimos in Alaska. In the third story the scene shifts to Peking, where

Brother Joseph Castiglione, S.J. (1688-1766), a portrait painter, trained by the masters of Milan, endeavors to win by his talents the Emperor of China. Modern Germany provides the background of the fourth biography, in which Brother William Wuerth, S.J. (1906-1938), a former accountant, outwits Hitler's tricky officials.

Liveliness of style and skillful handling of detail also characterize the remaining eleven life stories. The epilogue, entitled "The Brother Nobody Knows," by an anonymous author, presents in the form of a short play the life of a typical Jesuit brother from his birth to his triumphal entry into paradise. (RICHARD B. FARLEY)

LEWIS, NAPHTALI AND MEYER REINHOLD. *Roman Civilization. Selected Readings Edited with an Introduction and Notes.* Volume I: *The Republic.* (Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies, No. XLV.) (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 544. $5.00.)

This is the first of two volumes which together will offer a representative body of source material in translation covering Roman history from the beginnings to the Late Empire. In general arrangement and scope the work corresponds to Botsford and Sihler's *Hellenic Civilization* in the same series. The selections in Volume I are well chosen and carefully edited. The introduction (pp. 3-45) furnishes a useful sketch of Roman historiography, there is a general bibliography (pp. 519-536), and an adequate general index (pp. 539-544). It is most unfortunate that the editors have deliberately confined themselves almost exclusively to works in English in their bibliographical references. Scholarship in the field of Roman history has been and continues to be international in the fullest sense, and it is precisely the non-specialist or general reader who is worst served when he is offered in a select bibliography of Roman history not necessarily what is best but what is available in his own language. Thus, under Roman historiography references should certainly have been given to the pertinent works of Rosenberg, Vogt-Kornemann, and Piganiol; under inscriptions, Cagnat—the best work in the field—should have been included, etc. Apart from this weakness on the bibliographical side, the present volume is excellent and is warmly recommended. (Martin R. P. McGuire)

LIETZMANN, HANS. *From Constantine to Julian.* [A History of the Early Church, Volume III.] Translated by Bertram Lee Wolf. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1950. Pp. 340. $5.50.)

This third of the five volumes projected by the late Professor Lietzmann for his work, *A History of the Early Church,* covers the period from the last great persecution under Diocletian through the death of Julian, with especial emphasis upon the beneficent role of Constantine the Great. The author points out that Constantine's policy was "to set a positive value on the Church and to weave it into the organism of the Roman Empire as a dominant element and a political bond." Bent as he was upon achieving an essential unity throughout the empire, Constantine was greatly distressed by the dissension within the Church itself,

particularly by the widespread and involved Arian heresy, and he took steps toward settling current theological controversies by summoning the first general council of the Church at Nicea in 325. Much attention is given to the attitudes of Constantine and his successor, Constantius II, toward the opposing factions in the Arian dispute, which continued with vehemence for decades. The author disposes rather briefly of Julian's unsuccessful attempt to re-establish paganism as the religion of the empire.

In the main, Professor Lietzmann's work is a detailed account of the Church-State relationship arising from Constantine's espousal of Christianity. The inner life and development of the Church are brought in only casually, and the final chapter, "Worship," is hardly adequate for a work fully representative of the period.

On the whole, Lietzmann tells his story well, and his thorough documentation bears evidence to his scholarship and obviously wide familiarity with the sources and literature in the field. Mr. Wolf's translation is good, although at times the sequence of relative pronouns leaves something to be desired, particularly in passages recounting the numerous conflicting opinions of the various parties to the theological disputes. The reader will be well advised to note carefully the page of *corrigenda et emendanda* inserted after the table of contents. (EDWARD J. DUNCAN)

LIPSON, E. *The Growth of English Society. A Short Economic History.* (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1950. Pp. ix, 467. $3.75.)

For those who remember that modern history is often taught to undergraduates with emphasis on the "industrial revolution," while at the same time graduate students are learning that in one sense there was no such "revolution," this book should come as a welcome aid in resolving the apparent contradiction. Professor Lipson has compressed within a few pages his own learning, which is justly famous, as well as the contributions of others, to a subject which inevitably has invited close attention because of the great importance of the growth of English industry and commerce. He traces beginnings (Part I) as far back as the fifth century, and there is a brief discussion of the corporate economy of the Middle Ages, but this history, which is broadly designed to show "how in our island home man has fulfilled the Scriptural injunction to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow," is devoted mainly to the evolution of the modern capitalistic and individualistic England which did so much to make the subject of economic history so significant a part of the history one teaches. Out of a mercantilist era (Part II) came that modern capitalism which repudiated state controls and preferred the guidance of self-interest, a trend which, to use the author's figure, marked the direction of a swing of a pendulum that is now in the twentieth century moving backwards.

The good format, the pleasing style, and the accuracy of the author's treatment of facts, should make this volume useful for collateral reading in English history. It is no criticism of the book to point out that, even where trade and industry make up such a significant part of a nation's history, one can, never-

theless, get a superior view of that nation from a study of its politics and its religion. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

LITZ, FRANCIS E. (Ed.). *Letters—Grave and Gay and Other Prose of John Banister Tabb.* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1950. Pp. xix, 266. $4.00.)

This book, edited by Dr. Litz who is an authority on the life and works of Father Tabb, is the result of new information gathered by him. Since publishing his life of Tabb, the editor has discovered many letters of the poet that give a new insight into his character. The purpose of the present volume, then, is to give an effective account of the mature life of the poet-priest by means of the letters.

Over 300 letters are set forth, some only in part, and written between the years 1873 and 1909. A number of the poems are cited, some that had not been reprinted before. In addition, there are some letters written to Tabb and a few articles he wrote about his life on the sea, his ancestors and the ancestral home, the rights of Negroes, and several other items. In the introductory section of the book there is a sketch of the early life of Father Tabb. Throughout there are notes clarifying the matter contained in the letters.

Tabb's letters were addressed to persons connected with the publishing business or to those interested in his poetry. A few were written to Sidney Lanier and others to his widow, these latter showing Tabb's interest in the publication of Lanier's poems and in the keeping alive of the memory of his friend. A goodly number of the letters are written to one of the priest's former students, the "pupil of his eye." Though parts of those addressed to the young man had little appeal, nonetheless, they contain information about Tabb's poetry, his friends, and literary matters of the times. The letters show that Tabb had a fine selection of friends, persons who appreciated his poetry and encouraged him. The correspondence shows that Father Tabb could be affectionate, overaffectionate in fact; and also prejudiced, too prejudiced at times. All in all, the letters give a greater insight into his character and show him to have been highly esteemed by some of his contemporaries.

No doubt, Dr. Litz has thrown more light on the character of his subject by publishing these letters and by making notes to identify the references and to elucidate matters contained in them. The book contains a list of letters (dates and addressees) at the end, a bibliography, and a very satisfactory index. All this points to much work, but I fear that the book will appeal to only a limited number—those who knew Father Tabb and some others interested in American poetry. (LEO F. RUSKOWSKI)

LUDWIG, SISTER M. MILETA, F.S.P.A. *A Chapter of Franciscan History. The Sisters of the Third Order of Saint Francis of Perpetual Adoration, 1849-1949.* Foreword by the Most Reverend John P. Treacy, Bishop of La Crosse. (New York: Bookman Associates. 1950. Pp. xvi, 455. $5.00.)

Any person at all conversant with the history of the Catholic Church in the United States recognizes the inestimable contribution made to the development

of American Catholicism by the various religious communities of women. This volume is the centennial history of one of these communities, the Franciscan Sisters of Perpetual Adoration, whose motherhouse is located at La Crosse, Wisconsin. One could hardly imagine more adverse circumstances than those encountered by the members of this religious body in its pioneer days in Wisconsin. Sister Mileta vividly depicts the poverty, misunderstandings, epidemics, and internal dissension which threatened to destroy the community in its formative years, and then in separate chapters she traces the story of its amazing growth in the fields of education, missionary activity, and the care of the sick, aged, and orphans down to the present day. Just enough of the national and local scene is given to place the community's development in its proper historical milieu.

Unlike many others who have undertaken similar tasks, Sister Mileta describes the many domestic difficulties of this Franciscan band with commendable candor, wisely leaving the matter of canonization to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. The reader might well proceed with caution, however, when the author deals with external problems, particularly with respect to "clerical obstructionism," for Sister Mileta's sympathy is understandably with her community and its leaders.

The work is well documented, giving ample evidence of a wide search of available archival collections. The appendices contain biographical sketches, lists of ecclesiastical and religious superiors, a catalogue of the institutions conducted by the community, as well as other pertinent information, and the many excellent illustrations contribute immeasurably to the appealing format of the volume. (ROBERT J. CORNELL)

MADISON, CHARLES A. *American Labor Leaders. Personalities and Forces in the Labor Movement.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1950. Pp. ix, 474. $4.00.)

The author of this work might have attained his objective if he had stuck to the straight way of history but he veered off—and to the left. He set out to "give a coherent and realistic account of the development of organized labor through a survey of the outstanding trade unions and their leaders." It is popular history based on a study of pertinent materials in book and article form, which are listed for further reading in a fifteen-page bibliography divided according to chapters. But the work is annoying throughout since not even the frequent quotations are documented.

After an introductory survey of the pre-Civil War period—the author used the over-simplified explanation of the industrial revolution to explain the origins of American unionism and also seems to find wage-earner class consciousness in 1850—the pioneers are treated in the persons of Sylvis, Stephens, and Powderly. The last named would probably have been baffled by Madison's anachronistic allegation of "his faith in industrial democracy" (p. 52). Under the general division of the A. F. of L., Gompers, Green, Hutcheson, Mitchell, Lewis, and Dubinsky are discussed. In each case these personalities are introduced by a description of their industry and previous labor developments in it. Alexander F. Whitney and William D. Haywood are used to contrast the "aristocrats" of

the railroad brotherhoods and the I.W.W. Finally under the C.I.O., Philip Murray, Sidney Hillman, Walter Reuther, and Harry Bridges serve as pivotal figures around whom the history of their unions are built. These chapters are more factually detailed than the preceding ones.

The importance of personalities in the ebb and flow of history is brought out very much in any story of America's labor movement. The value of this approach in such sympathetic hands as the author's is obvious. Only in the treatment of Bridges does he overflow into fervid apologetics. The author considers dissent in labor's ranks, even that caused by the rooting out of communists, the worst evil that can inflict the movement. He tapers off his first enthusiasm for Murray by overlooking his industry council plan and judging that he has "gravitated to the fleshpot philosophy of business unionism." Recent Catholic activity in the interest of American organized labor Madison regards as the workings of another "bloc." Throughout the author generally looks from the left. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

MAJOR, J. RUSSELL. *The Estates General of 1560.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. viii, 146. $2.50.)

This work is a fairly exhaustive study of one important occasion of the meeting of the Estates General of France other than the fateful one of 1789 that ushered in the French Revolution. The convocation of 1560 provides an excellent opportunity for the study of the institution free from the strain of revolutionary tensions of the late eighteenth century.

Besides drawing a detailed picture of the meeting of 1560, Major raises and attempts to provide materials for the answering of a larger question: why did representative government fail to develop in France as it did in England? After giving a detailed analysis of the structure, organization, and problems of the 1560 sessions he attempts to answer his general question, drawing his arguments from a broader knowledge of the entire history of the Estates General and of the provincial estates of France. Having rejected a number of other solutions, Major attributes the failure of representative government in France to the fact that the Estates General was not generally useful to the king and, therefore, not frequently called, with the result that it did not have the chance to develop well-defined organization or to exercise decisive powers independently of the crown.

The book will be of use as a concise and careful account of the Estates General of 1560 even if it is not convincing in its further efforts toward the solution of the broader problems of the failure of French representative government. (Edward A. Doehler)

MASON, KATHRYN HARROD. *James Harrod of Kentucky.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1951. Pp. xxii, 266. $4.00.)

This biography will help to destroy the legend that claimed Boone as the "discoverer of Kentucky, its first explorer, its first settler, and its chief military protector." It will also aid in giving George Rogers Clark his due. Into this

account of the pioneer life of the founder of Kentucky's first settlement, the author has woven the history of the western lands. The reader will gather not only a picture of the life of the period, but the conviction that history is a process "of growth, expansion, and refinement in human society and culture." The narrative treats of the stirring period from 1754 to 1792. The first chapters are slow moving because of the number of characters involved. The critical essay on authorities in the appendix demonstrates how carefully memoirs and recollections have been checked against known historical facts. John Filson's map of Kentucky, the first made of the region, and other illustrations are pertinent. An attractive format, good print, easy narrative style combined with historical accuracy should cause the general reader and the historian of American history to welcome this first full biography of *James Harrod of Kentucky*. (Sister Laurita Gibson)

McGraw, Sister Martha Mary, C.S.J. *Stevenson in Hawaii*. (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press. 1950. Pp. xviii, 182. $3.75.)

From the campus of the University of Hawaii in lovely Manoa Valley, Oahu, comes this little book which will delight all students of Hawaiiana, and anyone interested in the life and works of Robert Louis Stevenson. Published under a grant by the McInerny Foundation of Honolulu, it is a careful study of the six and a half years spent by Stevenson in the south Pacific. Using contemporary newspapers and periodicals, the letters of Stevenson and his family, his own works of fiction, and personal interviews with people who knew him, Sister Mary Martha has skillfully woven both known and hitherto unpublished facts into a very readable book. Her thorough treatment of Stevenson's defense of Father Damien de Veuster, the leper priest of Molokai, will be particularly valuable to the student of the history of the Church.

A close friend and confident of King Kalakaua and other members of the Hawaiian royal family, Stevenson was an ardent defender of the royalist cause both prior to and after the revolution of 1891. When he returned to the islands from Samoa in 1893 he found the king dead and his successor, Queen Liliuokalani, deposed by a provisional government composed chiefly of Americans. Yet Stevenson remained outspoken in his praise of the Polynesian people and in his distrust of the white men who has supplanted them as rulers of Hawaii.

The documentation is excellent, although the twenty pages of footnotes would have been enhanced in value had they been placed throughout the text and not relegated to an appendix. The bibliography is especially good and there is an adequate index. It is customary in Hawaii to incorporate many Hawaiian words and phrases into the English spoken there. Unfortunately, the writer failed to translate many of these expressions which she uses into English for the enlightenment of her readers on the mainland. This is, however, a somewhat insignificant flaw in an otherwise beautifully written work. Sister Martha Mary has submitted to searching analysis Stevenson's impact on life in Hawaii and, perhaps more important, Polynesia's influence upon the noted author and his writings. A new and vivid picture of Stevenson during this happiest period of his life is the result of her labors. (Robert E. Carson)

Memoria del primer congreso de historiadores de Mexico y los Estados Unidos celebrado en la ciudad de Monterrey Nuevo Léon, Mexico, del 4 al 9 de Septiembre de 1949. Proceedings of the First Congress of Historians from Mexico and the United States Assembled in Monterrey Nuevo Leon, Mexico, September 4-9, 1949. (México: Editorial Cultura, T. G., S. A. 1950. Pp. 420.)

These *Proceedings* record a unique event. For this excellent volume presents the deliberations of the first meeting between the outstanding historians of the United States and Mexico to discuss common problems such as economic relations, land distribution, the preservation of sources, and the like. The program of the congress seems to have been too ambitious in its scope, with the result that the discussion of the papers presented is in general superficial and frequently even not to the point. However, the prevalent friendly and objective tone of these discussions between the historians of the two nations is evidence that the congress succeeded in creating a *rapport*, despite the thornier aspects of some of the topics. The next congress with a more restricted agenda which is scheduled to convene in 1952 should be even more successful, not only in establishing harmonious personal relationships between historians of the two countries, but also in fostering some solid conclusions of problems common to the histories of the two neighbors. (ANTONINE S. TIBESAR)

Miniatures of the Renaissance: Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Fifth Centenary of the Vatican Library. (Vatican City: Apostolic Vatican Library. 1950. Pp. 96. XXXI plates.)

To commemorate the fifth centenary of the foundation of the Vatican Library, which occurred during the Holy Year of 1950, an exhibition of Renaissance codices with illuminations in miniature was prepared and displayed in the Sixtine Hall. The present catalogue, prepared by Dr. Luigi Michelini Tocci of the Vatican Library, was intended primarily as a guide for visitors, but it also offers to students, who have not had the opportunity of examining the exhibition, a detailed account and a partial reproduction of the valuable contents of the exhibition.

This work consists of a brief history of the Vatican Library and an explanation and evaluation of the various miniatures of the exhibition prepared by Monsignor Anselmo Albareda, Prefect of the Vatican Library. Then follow descriptive notes and index of each of the 160 manuscripts and printed works exhibited and, finally, photographic reproductions of twenty-one of such miniatures dating from the period, 1431-1521. The sketch of the history of the Vatican Library, although quite brief, is valuable because familiar information usually found in scattered works on the Papacy is given in concise and convenient form. To students of art and the Renaissance and to those who were not fortunate enough to have seen the exhibition in 1950, the most interesting and valuable section of this work is that containing the photographs of the twenty-one miniatures. Through wise selection a varied and balanced group of miniatures has been chosen for reproduction. Although the Italian schools of Ferrara, and Lombardy, Florence and Umbria, Rome and Naples predominate, the Flem-

ish and French schools have not been neglected. The works exhibited were taken indiscriminately from the various collections of the Vatican Library, the greater number having been chosen from the famous collection of the Dukes of Urbino. Among many others, the miniatures include the *Codex of the Illiad* with its Latin and Greek text dated 1477; the *Aristotelian Codex* from 1471-1484; the *Codex of St. Thomas* of 1465; the ornate Flemish *Book of the Hours by Gerard Horenbout* dated about 1500, and that of *Jean Bourdichon* at the end of the fifteenth century. These prints, even though they would have been enhanced by color reproduction, certainly cannot fail to be of interest and value to all students of the treasures of the past so diligently preserved by the Popes, especially by Nicholas V and his successors. (GEORGE E. TIFFANY)

O'MEARA, JOHN J. (Trans. and Ed.). *St. Augustine against the Academics.* [Ancient Christian Writers, Volume XII]. (Westminster, Maryland: Newman Press. 1950. Pp. vi, 213. $3.00.)

One of the questions that have engaged scholars particularly in the last fifty years is how faithfully do the Cassiciacum dialogues written c. 396 reflect Augustine's intellectual outlook at the time of his baptism in 397? In other words, was it a genuine conversion to Christianity, or as Alfaric and others have maintained, a conversion to Neo-Platonism? The most adequate answer in English to that problem is to be found in the learned introduction and exhaustive notes of this volume. Dr. O'Meara's conclusion is that there is no contradiction between this treatise and the subsequent book of *Confessions*, the trustworthiness of which has been recently vindicated in a brilliant work by Pierre Courcelle, *Recherches sur les confessions de Saint Augustin* (Paris, 1950). The translation is a masterly production, reproducing in clear concise English all the nuances and complexities of Augustine's philosophic Latin. The proofreading and printing are, as usual in this series, first-class. On page 29 for "mis-en-scène," read "mise-en-scène." (Joseph P. Christopher)

O'SULLIVAN, RICHARD. *The Inheritance of the Common Law.* [Hamlyn Lectures. Second Series.] (London: Stevens & Sons Ltd. 1950. Pp. viii, 118. 8s.)

In these four lectures Richard O'Sullivan, K.C., who is doing the most distinguished work available anywhere designed to inform the contemporary generation about the content of their great inheritance in the common law, has chosen to summarize some of the essential principles with respect to: 1) the concept of man; 2) the family; 3) the political community; and 4) law and conscience.

The sources he uses—Holdsworth, Maitland, Pollock, the Carlyles, Thomas More, Fortescue, Bracton, Magna Carta, etc.—are well known, but the interpretation which he gives them is not only unique but masterly as well. In earlier writings, such as the *Blackfriars Publication No. 6* (1947) on "Christian Philosophy in the Common Law," the three contributions to the 1948, 1949, and 1950 issues, respectively, of *Current Legal Problems*, issued by the University

of London, and the paper prepared for the third series of the Proceedings of the Natural Law Institute at the University of Notre Dame in 1950, Mr. O'Sullivan has already indicated how much fundamental principles of the common law, like freedom, equality, due process of law, reason, conscience, and justice, owed to the Christian philosophy prevailing in Europe when the common law was being consciously formulated by Catholic clergymen serving as judges for the English kings. Here he crystallizes that thought very effectively and gives a new insight into the necessity of restoring to vigor these same fundamental principles of Christian teaching, if tyranny, arbitrariness, expediency, and force are not to supersede our law in governing our social and, indeed, our international relations in the near future. His very excellent work should be widely known.

A word of gratitude is due to the founder of the Hamlyn Trust, the late Emma Warburton Hamlyn of Torquay, as well as to the trustees of the fund, for making these lectures possible. (MIRIAM THERESA ROONEY)

PALICKAR, STEPHEN J. *Rev. Joseph Murgas, Priest-Scientist.* (New York: The Author, 632 West End Avenue. 1950. Pp. xv, 164. $5.00.)

This is a book the object of which is, as stated in the preface, "to re-kindle what smoldering embers remain of Father Murgas' once flaming success in the electrical sphere of human progress, and it is hoped that this well deserved tribute will not only find repose in the annals of history, but will also serve as an enduring monument to his genius." That Father Murgas deserves recognition for his contributions in the field of wireless communication, seems clear; that the present volume succeeds in achieving this end is highly questionable. Father Murgas, the author points out, should be credited with a significant discovery in the field of wireless. The discovery took the form of a rotary spark-gap transmitter capable of sending signals not dependent upon the duration of impulses but rather on a difference in their quality, their tone. However, in his efforts to re-establish Murgas as an important figure in this field, Mr. Palickar succeeds, it seems to me, only in raising doubts concerning the value of even this phase of the priest's interesting career.

In the first place the book is not critically written. For example, even though the author points out that at least six different dates are assigned for the birth of Father Murgas, the author offers no critical evidence for the one he selects. The same fault is to be found in many instances where information vital to the story is poorly or not at all substantiated. Mr. Palickar likewise has a tendency to overestimate the achievements of his subject in many fields. To call Murgas an outstanding naturalist on the basis of his butterfly collection and his fishing prowess would seem to be over-generous, and it serves only to raise doubts concerning the place Mr. Palickar assigns to his subject in the field of wireless communication. It is unfortunate, too, that the book was not more carefully read in proof, for it abounds in poor idiom and has many grammatical lapses. (HENRY E. WACHOWSKI)

PATTEE, RICHARD. *This Is Spain.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1951. Pp. ix, 541. $7.00.)

Seldom has a more complete book appeared at a more opportune moment. Mr. Pattee's volume is a highly readable, well-informed study of contemporary Spain. Most current writing on Spain can be divided into pro-Franco or anti-Franco, with elaborate special pleading on both sides. The reader will be pleased to discover an exception in *This Is Spain.* Not that the author does not speak at length about the Caudillo. But his aim is to explain Franco, not defend him, and this he does remarkably well both as a reporter of the facts and an interpreter of the events of the Civil War.

The introductory chapters on the Hispanic temperament and the historical background of modern Spain stress the uniqueness of the country and its people who are often mistakenly thought to be just other Europeans. There is extreme diversity within the unity that is Spain. And it is not only physical but also moral and temperamental diversity, the counterpart of which historically has been deep conflict of one kind or another. In fact, the diversity amounts to outright division as is evident in the concept of "dos Espagnes." A person visiting Barcelona may be surprised to learn, as did this reviewer, that he is not yet in Spain, and when he inquires about trains to Madrid he may be asked, "But why do you want to go to Spain?" This extreme sense of *separatismo,* the author stresses, is carried outside the country to become a concept of "two Europes," one Spain, the other the rest of Europe that does not understand Spain.

In other chapters which comprise one-third of the book, the author completes the background of the Civil War by accounting for the rise of the first and the second republics (1873, 1931) and the social, economic, and religious conditions under these governments. The anarchy that began with the very proclamation of the republic in 1931 and the scrapping of the centuries-old monarchy, receives the indictment it deserves in the chapter, "Inferno Let Loose" (pp. 159-188). The Franco-led insurrection of July 18, 1936, and the military operations of the war itself receive an unusually detailed treatment which help to make the book the complete thing it is. Criticizing the theories and reservations of Jacques Maritain on the subject of the legitimacy of the war, the author declares: "For the Catholic, the position was made irrevocably clear in the statement of the hierarchy, over the signature of the bishops, headed by His Eminence, the Cardinal Primate of Toledo, when they stated: 'This most cruel war is, basically, a war of principles, of doctrine, one of conception of life and society against another, one of civilization against another'" (p. 198).

The second half of Mr. Pattee's book which treats of Spain since the end of the Civil War will be considered the most original and valuable part of the work. More important than his account of the political structure and functioning of the new regime is his treatment of the economic and social problems of the new Spain which, if anything, are more crucial than the political. The lengthy study of the Catholic Church in postwar Spain, the question of religious minorities, and the state of Spanish education (pp. 347-423) leave little to be desired.

As for "Outlook," the author reaches these conclusions: "there is no chance whatever that the republicans will return to power in Spain" (p. 486); "the

restoration is the obvious thing for Spain" (p. 492); "certainly Spain represents a far more solid opposition to militant Marxism than Tito's heretical communist deviationism" (p. 485). In connection with this last observation, perhaps Mr. Pattee's severe indictment of our Spanish policy (or lack of it) would be somewhat tempered, or at least reflect more optimism, had it been written after the Franco-Sherman talks. (WILLIAM J. COLEMAN)

POOLE, AUSTIN LANE. *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta, 1087-1216.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1951. Pp. xvi, 541. $5.00.)

The present volume is the ninth published of a projected fourteen in the Oxford History of England. Its author, President of St. John's College, Oxford, tells us that the treatise is the result of "twenty years" of "gestation." During the latter period most important secondary materials on the subject, together with a surprising number of primary sources, appear to have been assimilated. A "scholarly hem" of footnotes adorns the opus, while a copious commentative bibliography of twenty-five pages crowns it. Outstanding are descriptions of socio-economic, socio-political, and cultural conditions. According to the author, England substantiates the theory of a twelfth-century renaissance. At the dawn of the period, English scholars were regularly going abroad in quest of advanced learning; by its close they, in company with foreigners, were in attendance at Oxford's *studium generale*. The Angevin royal family enjoyed good to excellent educations. English scholars were prominent among scientific translators from the Arabic. For England the twelfth was of all centuries the "most legal." Latin was "pure and grammatical at its best, . . . at least natural and unaffected at its worst;" and a Shakespearean era was being foreshadowed by the evolution of religious drama, which was emerging from church to cemetery (or churchyard?) and market place. Skilful illumination of manuscripts re-appeared; Anglo-Norman architecture stood unrivalled in northern Romanesque; decorative sculpture flourished. Meanwhile accounts of the past became sufficiently broad and philosophical to deserve the name of "history." Personalities such as Henry II are portrayed by Poole in vivid manner, although neither the "reconstruction" of John nor the demolition of Becket seem adequately justified by proofs. A blemish is the lack of apparent logical order among the chapters. While the compilation of facts and references is invaluable, a better-than-average comprehensive grasp of interrelationships and implications is not evidenced. (Daniel D. McGarry)

PRITCHARD, JAMES B. (Ed.). *Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1950. Pp. xxi, 526. $15.00.)

Twelve thoroughly competent scholars have compressed into the double-columned pages of this sumptuous volume an excellent, well indexed, and annotated selection of the historical and literary materials in seven languages from the Near East during more than two millenia. The texts themselves are grouped topically with the following headings and pagination: I. Myths, Epics and

Legends, 3-155; II. Legal Texts, 159-223; III. Historical Texts, 227-322; IV. Rituals, Incantations and Descriptions of Festivals, 325-61; V. Hymns and Prayers, 365-401; VI. Didactic and Wisdom Literature, 405-52; VII. Lamentations, 455-63; VIII. Secular Songs and Poems, 467-71; IX. Letters, 475-92; X. Miscellaneous Texts, 495-98. It will be observed that the proportions are excellent. The seventh chapter contains only one (Sumerian) document; and the eighth has Egyptian material exclusively. The whole is controlled by three indices in which 1) the contents are grouped by language; 2) Old Testament analogues, whether actually adduced in the body of the work or merely commended to the reader's attention through this ("suggestive rather than exhaustive") list without discussion, are given in the biblical order of chapter and verse, with appropriate references to the upper or lower half of a column; 3) all proper names are cited with page references. The contributors are W. F. Albright (Amarna and Mari letters, Hebrew inscriptions), H. L. Ginsberg (Ugaritic, Aramaic), A. Goetze (Hittite texts, laws of Eshnunna), S. N. Kramer (Sumerian), T. J. Meek (Sumerian and Akkadian legal texts), A. L. Oppenheim (Sumerian and Akkadian historical texts), R. H. Pfeiffer (Akkadian didactic and wisdom literature), A. Sachs (Akkadian rituals), E. A. Speiser (Akkadian myths and epics), F. J. Stephens (Sumero-Akkadian hymns and prayers), and J. A. Wilson (all the Egyptian texts).

The selection of texts was made, "First . . . to include those texts . . . cited . . . as parallel to, or illustrative of, certain passages in the Old Testament"; "Secondly . . . to give representative types of literary expression from each of the linguistic and cultural areas of the ancient Near East." With regard to this second objective the editors state, "This broader selection . . . makes the collection of use to students of other phases of the history of the ancient Near East." The volume is unique as an up-to-date product in any modern language (a similar German work dates from 1926), and displays oriental scholarship on the North American continent in a very favorable light. It should be available wherever the Old Testament is seriously studied, and wherever the cultural history of the ancient world is surveyed. May its success warrant regular reprintings which can keep it abreast of the new texts and new insights (already for pp. 57, 143, and elsewhere) that are being obtained from year to year in the vast field of scholarly labors of which it presents the mature and precious fruits. (Patrick W. Skehan)

Robinson, Charles Alexander, Jr. *Ancient History from Prehistoric Times to the Death of Justinian.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. xxiii, 738. $6.00.)

This is a good one volume textbook. It is well balanced, accurate, and attractively written. The author is at his best in Greek history, especially in the period from Alexander on. The treatment of religion, including Judaism and Christianity, and of art and architecture, is more satisfactory than that in several recent textbooks which I have examined. The book is furnished with well selected illustrations and maps, good chronological tables, an exceptionally good select bibliography, and an adequate index. (Martin R. P. McGuire)

ROSITZKE, HARRY A. (Trans. and Ed.). *The Peterborough Chronicle.* [No. XLIV of the Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies. Austin P. Evans, Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. 193. $3.50.)

This first translation into modern English of an old English chronicle as a unit, rather than as a conflation of several chronicles, makes readily available to students the longest, and quite possibly the most complicated in origin and development, of the vernacular chronicles which have come down to us.

In his introduction Mr. Rositzke has carefully traced the provenance and development of each of the old English chronicles from the primary compilation to its final form. The *Peterborough Chronicle* is of special interest, not only because it is the longest by seventy-five years but because it represents in the first phase the northern tradition and, from 1121 down, the Kentish tradition. The accounts, therefore, of the Danish invasions and of the Norman invasion are of special interest. The final portion of the *Chronicle* is the work of a single author, a man of spirit, of moral rectitude, and of a certain sardonic humor. He has left us a telling sketch of William the Conqueror and a moving account of the sufferings of the poor in the days of King Stephen.

The translation is extremely helpful for the novice reader, as well as for the scholar, in that the translator has made the various redactions of the *Chronicle* quite obvious by printing the translation of the Latin entries in italics and the interpolations of the Peterborough redactor in smaller type so that the reader can readily note the source of each entry. In addition, the text is completed by running the explanatory footnotes and emendations from other chronicles at the bottom of each page. The passages taken from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* are listed in the introduction with special notation of those which are not in the primary compilation. Notes on place names and persons are given in the appendices. The edition is complete with bibliography and index. (SISTER M. EMMANUEL COLLINS)

SCHULTZ, HAROLD S. *Nationalism and Sectionalism in South Carolina: 1852-1860. A Study of the Movement for Southern Independence.* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1950. Pp. x, 259. $4.50.)

CAUTHEN, CHARLES EDWARD. *South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865.* [Vol. 32, James Sprunt Studies in History.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1950. Pp. vii, 256.)

The first of these volumes deals with that almost unanswerable question: "What caused the Civil War?" The answers are numerous because the cause was a complex one. Schultz discusses the political cause at its center—in the State of South Carolina where emphasis is placed on the slavery issue since politically it was uppermost. For certainly if the war was not fought to settle whether or not the slaves should be free, it was fought because a fanaticism on the question of slavery brought all other causes together. Abolitionism might well be as much as anything the occasion for the Civil War. Schultz quotes Senator Boyce of South Carolina in a passage which identifies abolitionism as

"a moral fanaticism." Boyce stated, "These moral manias are social tornadoes which sweep over the surface of society at intervals of history. History is full of them; they are the melancholy blot and blur of many a page. They are the only passions that admit of no settlement. They must run their course; it is the law of their nature." Boyce's observation is worthy of a Belloc or Toynbee. The world has seen many such moral manias—the Protestant Revolt, the Great Awakening, etc., and, as we observed, they apparently cannot be stopped—and if they do not run their course and die out it is only because they are sometimes met by frightful internecine struggles like the Thirty Years' War and the Civil War.

The volume of Mr. Cauthen carries on the history of South Carolina from where Schultz leaves off. The treatment, however, is different and the two books by no means complement each other as might be expected. Cauthen's story of South Carolina at war follows what seems to be a trend in such studies, if we think of Coulter's *The Confederate States*, and instead of giving a chronological account of the war as participated in by South Carolina, he rather gives a series of related problems. The first half of the book does show the compelling forces that brought about the war; but the second section is a study of conscription, finances, etc. Military history plays little part in this story.

However, we do not mean to say that this is a fault. The military history of the war is well known or at least it is the most knowable phase, but the other problems such as the raising of troops, how a war is financed, etc., are much more easily ignored and with much more difficulty is the material gathered and analyzed. Mr. Cauthen is to be commended for a work well done. If any criticism is to be made, it is that there is no space given to how the man-in-the-street bore the war.

Both books are specialized studies; but they are by no means provincial. No reader could know the Civil War just from these two volumes, but no writer could give the full story without a knowledge of them. (RICHARD C. MADDEN)

STEINBUCHEL, THEODOR. *Zerfall des christlichen Ethos im XIX, Jahrhundert.* (Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Josef Knecht, Carolusdruckerei. 1951. Pp. iv, 172. DM. 7.80.)

This book is a posthumous fragment of a series of lectures tracing the world of the twentieth century with all its miseries back to what men 200 years ago boastfully called the age of enlightenment. Religion then was scorned. God was hardly needed. Men, happily endowed with reason, were sufficient unto themselves. Unfortunately, death claimed the philosopher-historian before he could proceed beyond the consideration of all the movements that countered the reasoning and the effects of this wondrous age. Meticulously he examines the nature of that period and the tendencies it started, especially among the bourgeois classes both intellectual and non-intellectual. By way of orienting his students as to the character of the counter-movements, he examines the world of the individual as a whole, historically and emotionally and, finally, religiously. He ended his semester's discussions with pietism. What he might have said the next term no one will ever know.

On the whole, however, one gets the impression from these ten discourses that Dr. Steinbüchel was inclined to discount the force of Catholic philosophical and theological effort. It tended to follow a "me too" line. The bourgeois classes were too powerful to withstand. All too profitably satisfied by their inhuman exploitation of peoples at home and in distant backward lands, they had formulated a humanitarianism that would not brook criticism. Materialistic in their outlook, they fell victim in the nineteenth century to the still more materialistic materialism with which we are now militantly threatened. The Protestant pietism was of little avail. Of Catholic economic and social teachings and actions, such as the encyclicals and the movement spearheaded in Germany by Bishop Wilhelm von Ketteler of Mainz, Dr. Steinbüchel's students heard little. Certainly there was no falling in with bourgeois predilections in the *Syllabus of Errors*. On the whole these ten lectures should not have been published without notes drawn from the memoranda the author surely must have prepared for the discourses contemplated for the following semester. (FRANCIS T. TSCHAN)

STEWART, H. F. (Ed. and Trans.). *Pascal's Pensées*. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1950. Pp. xxiv, 543. $5.00.)

This book will do much toward stimulating interest in a man who is not well enough known in the United States. It is an unusual production inasmuch as it gives a new translation of Pascal's work, and for those who wish the original they will have it on the opposite pages. It is an extremely convenient arrangement. Americans have no idea of the importance that Pascal holds in the life of thinking Europeans. His eminence as a scientist gives him an entree to the minds of the professors; his sanctity is a stimulant to the non-believer and the believer; his lucid style is the envy of the literary. In fact, it is said of him that he is to France what Plato was to Greece, Dante to Italy, Cervantes to Spain, and Shakespeare to England.

Dr. Stewart has devoted a lifetime to the study of Pascal, a colossal task because the literature on Pascal is almost as great as that of Shakespeare. His has not been just a haphazard and an ephemeral interest. This abiding study and devotion is shown in the life-like, clear, and attractive translation. No man in the English-speaking world knows Pascal as Stewart does. For those who have an interest in this extraordinary person, a copy of this book will have to be added to their library. (EDWARD V. CARDINAL)

STEWART, JOHN HALL. *A Documentary Survey of the French Revolution* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. xxviii, 818, $6.00.)

Facing the preface the editor of this volume has prominently displayed E. A. Freeman's saying that ". . . the most ingenious and most eloquent of modern historical discourses can after all be nothing more than a comment on a text." The intention of the work is to furnish such text. In doing this it offers "a collection of *public* documents, the final selection [of which] was restricted mainly to statutes, constitutions, proclamations, and treaties." The work ends with

Brumaire and divides the material into nine chapters, each one subdivided in turn into several sections. The chapters and sections are preceded by short and concise summaries which bind together the individual documents and guide along particularly the uninitiated reader. A great number of these documents deal with affairs of the Church and there is a whole section on ecclesiastical organization under the national assembly.

The predominantly public character of the documents selected by Professor Stewart determines the advantages and the shortcomings of this collection. At the first glance one sees that it is nothing more than a companion to a standard text dealing with general political and international events of the Revolution. Like a general political text, it follows the conventional divisions of estates general, national assembly, legislature ,convention, and directory. Since standard texts are usually based on public documents, it appears that this work is merely an appendix to such extended into a full volume. Its value lies in containing the public documents more or less full in English translation. As such it is a major step forward and fills a real gap. But lacking descriptive elements referring to the economic and social conditions of the masses in the rural as well as in the urban districts during the various phases of the Revolution, the book is a disappointment.

In teaching the French Revolution time and again one runs into the difficulty of describing conditions in a life-like and realistic way. The lack of such descriptive material in English is a greater need for the teacher practicing the principles of "New History" than the lack of public documents. But the first step has been made and Dr. Stewart deserves high praise for the careful selection of these texts. (Arpad F. Kovacs)

Strathmann, Ernest A. *Sir Walter Ralegh: A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 292. $3.75.)

The volume before us is a scholarly and judicious treatment of a phase of Ralegh's biographical history. It deals specifically with his contemporary reputation as an "atheist" and freethinker and consists of an adequate and competent re-evaluation of each piece of evidence usually adduced by his biographers and literary historians in determining Ralegh's opinions and beliefs. This evidence is reviewed in its proper historical perspective and evaluated with new significance, so that the subject of the study emerges as neither "the Elizabethan 'atheist' (save perhaps in the broad implications of ethical criticism) nor the freethinker of twentieth-century fame, but a leader in that energetic company who did not find religious faith a barrier to philosophical and scientific speculations" (p. 275).

According to its author the book is an attempt to "compensate for the falsifying perspective of time by restoring as best we can the Elizabethan proportions of Ralegh's thought" (p. 16). It consists of a presentation in Chapter 2 of the contemporary evidence, mainly up to 1603, when Ralegh was imprisoned for treason, concerning his religious opinions and beliefs. Strathmann then analyzes a number of representative religious and theological treatises, chief among

which are Parsons' *The Books of Resolution* (1582-1585) and Philip Mornay's *The Trueness of the Christian Religion* (1587). This analysis provides the necessary background of definition and language to permit him to explain the inconsistency of Ralegh's reputation with the content and spirit of his published writings, the end to which his remaining chapters are devoted. The book is of solid worth. (H. EDWARD CAIN)

STUART JONES, E. H., R.N. *An Invasion that Failed. The French Expedition to Ireland, 1796.* (New York: William Salloch; Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1950. Pp. xvi. 256. $3.50.)

Ireland has often figured in the plans of England's enemies: a population seething with a thousand discontents stood ready to assist any foreigner who promised freedom. In the 1790's an attempt by the French to exploit Ireland for their own ends was inevitable. Carnot gave much thought to the subject. Under General Lazare Hoche, conqueror of the Vendée, a large scale but poorly organized invasion was launched from Brest in December, 1796. The misfortunes that attended it have been related in great detail, and illuminated with new material from the French archives, by Commander Stuart Jones.

Lazare Hoche and Theobald Wolfe Tone, the invasion's protagonists, occupy the foreground of the narrative. Both are treated sympathetically as young idealists, though Hoche's ambition is remarked by the author. It was a queer fate which separated Hoche from his command; the evidence suggests that the English had bribed the captain of his flagship to "take him on a cruise." The choice of Bantry Bay was a blow to Tone; he was unfamiliar with that part of Ireland which was remote from the patriotic societies ready for an insurrection. Yet the French strategy was sound; the invaders would be in easy striking distance of Cork, the chief provisioning port of the British fleet. But not a soldier got ashore; winds of gale force drove the French ships from the narrow bay. Want of provisions and fear of a British squadron forced a return to Brest. Two years later another invasion fleet was intercepted at sea; Tone's capture was a prelude to a miserable end in a British prison cell. Hoche had died in 1797 of tuberculosis, his name and reputation already overshadowed by Bonaparte.

Commander Stuart Jones is to be commended for several achievements: first, for keeping alive the tradition of the "amateur historian," whose diligence and quiet competence may inspire the "professional," and second, for tirelessly pursuing the "unsuccessful invasions" of the British Isles. This is his second title in what may prove to be a useful series. (WILLIAM O. SHANAHAN)

SWARZENSKI, HANNS (Introduction). *Early Medieval Illumination. Twenty-One Colour Plates.* (New York: Iris Books. Oxford University Press. 1951. Pp. 24 + xxi plates. $6.00.)

In addition to its color plates this volume contains eight text illustrations. With the exception of one eighth-century illumination, all the pictures date from the beginning of the ninth century to the middle of the thirteenth. They are for the most part German in origin. The introduction gives a succinct statement of

the nature and history of manuscript illustration and a great deal of interesting information upon the character and merits of the illustrations that are reproduced. It is regrettable that a passage on page 6 succeeds in being both silly and offensive with a reference to "the Christian myth."

The illustrations have been carefully chosen and beautifully reproduced. Only the gold in the originals has not been treated with justice. Among their subjects are the nativity, the tidings brought to the shepherds and their adoration of the Christ Child, the adoration of the Magi, the evangelists, certain initial letters, Alexander the Great, the Emperor Otto, Pope Gregory the Great, the crucifixion, and Christ on the Sea of Galilee. Together they make a procession of masterpieces. Two versions of the incident on the Sea of Galilee are given. Almost contemporary, they are utterly different but both are great art. "In Cologne everything is pictorially effective:—the diagonal movement of the boat and its out-blown sail dramatically emphasize the agitated movement of the scene. In Regensburg everything has been reduced to a balanced, ornamental symmetry. The water is a pattern of undulating parallel lines; the composition has all the hushed sobriety of an Entombment" (p. 19). The Cologne picture is an especially striking instance of the great and original genius of these mediaeval artists.

This book is highly recommended. It should be in college and seminary libraries in particular. From it students and others may learn to know these wonderful things of our past and thus to strive for something better in the religious thought and art of our own time. (John K. Ryan)

SWEENEY, FRANCIS, S.J. *Bernadine Realino: Renaissance Man.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1951. Pp. 173. $2.75.)

It is not an easy task to write the life of a saint, or any person for that matter, who lived and took an active part in that complex period known as the late Renaissance and the Catholic Reformation. This is just the task that Father Sweeney has set out to accomplish, and on the whole he succeeds admirably.

The first five chapters, which are devoted to Bernadine Realino's education at Mantua and the University of Bologna and his diplomatic activity as mayor of several small cities in the Duchy of Milan are, perhaps, the best and the most carefully and colorfully drawn. This may be partially due to the fact that the subject lends itself to such a vivid presentation and partially, of course, to the skill of the author. The author is at his best in describing details of the life, curriculum, and customs in the Italian schools and academies in the middle of the sixteenth century. Cultural and historical allusions interspersed whenever they would be of interest, give life to an already well-written narrative. Digressions on the background of the universities, on the houses of Carpi, Gonzaga, and Este, on the earlier career of Cardinal Madruzzo of Trent are a source of enlightenment and interest whereas they well could have been a hindrance in less capable hands. Unfortunately, the latter chapters, which deal with Realino's vocation to the Society of Jesus and his life as a Jesuit for forty-two years in Lecce in southeastern Italy, do not come up to the standard previously set forth. Perhaps, this is due to the nature of the subject matter itself. The author, however, de-

serves credit for avoiding, in the spirit of the Bollandists, an excessively laudatory and uncritical treatment of a hagiographical subject.

Although this work is not documented, there is abundant evidence throughout the text that Father Sweeney has read more deeply into the sources and secondary works than is indicated by the useful but by no means complete bibliography. (George E. Tiffany)

TANNENBAUM, FRANK. *A Philosophy of Labor.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1951. Pp. 199. $2.75.)

This volume deserves a more detailed review. Scrutinizing readers will agree with its general thesis that the trade union with all its defects is a conservative, not a revolutionary force, though many will object to specific items of its presentation. Pius XI would agree with Tannenbaum's incisive analysis of individualism, his insistence on the inadequacy of economic motives alone for constituting a satisfactory society, his abhorrence of the modern vicious separation of ownership and responsibility, and his telling critique of the mentality of the socialists. In short, the book's position on the evils of the past two centuries, and on the causes of those evils, is fundamentally sound. And its supporting historical data are reliable.

However, the author's terminology is often puzzling. Terms such as 'moral,' 'faith,' 'guild,' and 'good life' (as used) need exact defining. Then, too, the jargon, clichés, and bias of "the confused liberal" intrude unnecessarily. Are the communist, fascist, and nazi eruptions of passing import "because they rest upon formal ideologies . . ."? Does "their dependence on dogma" reveal their inner debility? Is it true of trade unionism that "its very lack of ideas made it strong . . ."? Further, did it or does it lack ideas? A century-wide survey of its promotional literature and promoters might reveal that it became the counter-revolution not "unwittingly." Also, it is difficult to understand why the unions, rather than the individual members, should acquire ownership in industry. Despite these and several other questions, this is a searching and stimulating work. It deserves an extensive reading public. (THOMAS J. DARBY)

THOMPSON, E. A. *A History of Attila and the Huns.* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1948. Pp. xii, 228. $4.50.)

The purpose of this book is to give a systematic and comprehensive account of the Huns during the hundred years in which they played an important part in the history of western Europe. Their invasion of the West and their relations with the Germanic peoples and with the Roman Empire have been treated before, but largely in incidental or sporadic fashion. Furthermore, the author has made a special effort to describe Hunnic society and institutions and their evolution in the fourth and fifth centuries. Owing to the scantiness of the sources, the chapters devoted to Hunnic political and social life, although the most interesting and original part of the book, must necessarily remain provisional and controversial. The conclusion contains an excellent critical evaluation of

the Huns in history and, in particular, of the role of Attila. Under the influence of Bury's anti-religious bias, Thompson maintains that the famous embassy headed by Pope Leo the Great had no influence on Attila's withdrawal from Italy, the true reason being the devastation of the peninsula caused by famine and pestilence in 451-452 (p. 147). The fate of Alaric—expressly mentioned by Jordanes—and the religious fear or superstitions of Attila in the presence of Leo should not have been ignored as additional and important factors affecting this decision. Incidentally, nothing is said in the monograph about Hunnic religion. In connection with Hunnic social and economic life, some reference should have been made to the passage in St. Ambrose, *De Tobia*, 39, which stresses the dominance of usury and gambling among the Huns. The book is furnished with a good bibliography, seven appendices, and an adequate index. In Appendix G, "The Alleged Gothic Names of the Huns," the author was able to use the penetrating study of R. L. Reynolds and R. S. Lopez, "Odoacer: German or Hun?" [*American Historical Review*, LII (October, 1947), 36-53]. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

ULLMAN, WALTER. *Medieval Papalism*. (London: Methuen and Co. 1949. Pp. xiv, 230. 18/-.)

Dr. Ullman's book is a valuable and stimulating contribution to a subject on which little has been written in English. The scope of his work is best indicated by its sub-title, "The Political Theories of the Medieval Canonists." In his first chapter the author writes with discernment and enthusiasm of the achievements of the mediaeval canonists with especial emphasis on their contribution to the development of mediaeval political concepts, a contribution which, he observes, has been unduly neglected in most standard works on the subject. He then proceeds to a more detailed discussion on various aspects of canonistic theory. The chapters on natural law serve as a timely reminder that when the phrase "natural law" was used in mediaeval controversies it did not always, or even usually, bear the connotation attached to it by St. Thomas Aquinas. The discussion on papal *plenitudo potestatis* deals with the canonists' underlying assumption that spiritual power was of its nature superior to temporal ("just as the soul is superior to the body"), and then with their practical applications of this principle in defining the limits of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In this connection the canonists' doctrine on marriage, which the author cites as an illustration of their underlying assumption, perhaps offers certain difficulties, for whilst some of the canonists held that the Pope could dissolve a valid marriage (since marriage was a spiritual affair), others denied this power to him precisely on the ground that "carnale vinculum fortius est spirituali." The last two chapters take us to the heart of the subject with discussions on "World Monarchy" and "Pope and Emperor," and here the author illustrates vividly the extreme lengths to which some of the canonists were prepared to carry their doctrine of the Pope's temporal supremacy. The reader will wish to compare his conclusions with those put forward in the recent book of S. Mochi Onory.

Dr. Ullman's work is enriched by much unpublished manuscript material gathered in cathedral and college libraries. It should be read by all students of medieaval political thought. (Brian Tierney)

WELD, RALPH FOSTER. *Brooklyn Is America.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1950. Pp. viii, 266. $3.50.)

Using Comrade Gromyko's pet phrase, this review might begin by stating: "As is well known, Brooklyn and Texas won the war against Hitlerite Germany." Such hyperbole comes easily in speaking about the largest borough of the nation's largest city or about the largest state in the union. Each is vocally conscious of its size. The phenomenon known as Brooklyn is so diverse that it is hard to encompass it in any generalization. The frequent attempts at humor directed at Brooklyn are in reality confessions of defeat at the staggering task of trying to comprehend that complex community.

Mr. Weld has made a valiant effort at a serious study of the nation's most famous community. His book is briskly written, popular, with no effort at the apparatus of scholarship, although the author is capable of providing it if he had so desired. In an effort to break down the many aspects into manageable units, he has chosen to consider each of Brooklyn's racial strains in a different chapter and so he has succeeded in giving some of the cosmopolitan flavor and variety of the western end of Long Island. The result makes for easy, interesting, and informative reading. A few typographical errors should be corrected, and the publishers were sadly remiss in not providing a serviceable map of the borough. If the book is intended only for Brooklynites a map is superfluous; for benighted foreigners it is indispensable! (FRANKLIN E. FITZPATRICK)

WHITE, HELEN C. *The Tudor Books of Private Devotion.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1951. Pp. 284. $4.75.)

Using chiefly the *Psalter*, *Primer*, and Saint Bridget's *Fifteen Oes*, Miss White skillfully and persuasively traces a substratum of continuity and development persisting in sixteenth-century England in the literature of private devotion despite the cross-currents of controversy. This book reinforces with interesting detail part of her broader theme, "Some Continuing Traditions in English Devotional Literature," *PMLA*, LVII, 966-980. Following a resumé of the principal contributions of the Church fathers and Middle Ages, later chapters cover the use of scriptural material for private devotions and guides to the devout life.

The relatively great popularity of this religious genre, though overshadowed by the official books for prayer, is partly attributable to the making of the *Psalter* into a songbook (Sternford and Hopkins, 1567), whereby such devotions were socialized. Miss White's careful analysis shows how the *Primer* gradually changed with the elimination of many saints from the calendar and litany, with substitutions for Marian hymns and prayers, and with the adroit interpolation of nonscriptural prayers for contemporary problems in the first official primer of 1545.

In various forms, the *Meditations* and the *Prayers*, from the *Confessions* and works attributed to St. Augustine, became an important source of Tudor devotional material. Translations of *De imitatione Christi* of Thomas à Kempis, often "purified" and abridged, appeared in many editions and "carried into sixteenth-century devotional life more of the traditional than has usually been appreciated."

The bibliography of many unfamiliar religious works will prove valuable to historians of the Tudor period. (Mary McDonald Long)

WOODY, THOMAS. *Life and Education in Early Societies.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1949 Pp. xx, 825. $7.50.)

In spite of the title, this book is not concerned with all aspects of the educative process to an equal degree, but, as the preface indicates, is primarily devoted to physical education and the important role of physical education in ancient cultures and civilizations to the end of the Roman Empire. The bulk of the book (pp. 233-756) is occupied with the Greeks and Romans. Physical education and training in primitive societies, in Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, China, India, Persia, and Crete, are covered, but much more briefly. The author, on the whole, has done his work competently. Copious quotations in translation from the ancient sources increase the interest and value of his exposition. His work, however, is predominantly descriptive. One misses too often a formal discussion of motives and objectives, especially in the treatment of the Greeks. The quarrel over the role of physical education vs. intellectual education in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. is hardly touched upon. Thus, the Sophists are not sufficiently distinguished from the philosophers proper, and their de-emphasis of the traditional physical education is, apparently, not discussed. The author's date for the beginning of Neolithic culture and the beginnings of agriculture should be reduced by half (p. 3). The book is furnished with a valuable bibliography—too confined to works in English—and an unusually good index (pp. 791-825). H. I. Marrou's excellent *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris, 1948) appeared too late to be utilized. (MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE)

PERIODICAL LITERATURE

MISCELLANEOUS

Les fondements de la géopolitique. Thomas Greenwood (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Jan.).

Oswald Spengler and the Predicament of the Historical Imagination. Erich Heller (*Cambridge Jrn.*, Jan.).

Totalitarian Religions. Waldemar Gurian (*Rev. of Politics*, Jan.).

Ley y libertad en la historia. Arnold Toynbee (*Revista de estudios políticos*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 59).

La participación de los laicos en el gobierno de la Iglesia. Ives T. J. Congar (*ibid.*).

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Abraham à Jérusalem. R. P. L.-H. Vincent (*Revue biblique*, July, 1951).

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The Habbakuk Scrolls and Pompey's Capture of Jerusalem. M. B. Dagut (*Biblica*, Vol. 32, Fasc. 4).

Historical Notes on the Interpretation of John 13:10. N. M. Haring (*Cath. Biblical Quart.*, Oct.).

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Saint Stephen and the Jerusalem Temple. Marcel Simon (*Jrn. of Ecclesiastical Hist.*, July- Oct.).

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Nouvelles observations sur l'origine juridique des persécutions contre les chrétiens aux deux premiers siècles. J. Zeiller (*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. XLVI, Nos. 3-4.)

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La valeur des lemmes dans l'*Eranistes* de Théodoret. P. Nautin (*ibid.*).

Trois fragments grecs de l'Apologie de Jean le Grammairien pour le concile de Chalcédoine. Ch. Moeller (*ibid.*).

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Typus. Stoïcisme et monarchianisme au IV• siècle d'après Candide l'Arien et Marius Victorinus. P. Hadot (*Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, July, 1951).

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Augustinus und die Tiburtinische Sibylle. Von Alfons Kurfess (*ibid.*).

The Centenary of Chalcedon. Charles Davis (*Clergy Rev.*, Dec.).

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Le grand augustinisme. F. Cayré (*ibid.*).

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Le pèlerinage à Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle. Yves Renouard (*Revue historique*, Oct.).

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Barlow, Claude W. (Ed.). *Martini Episcopi Bracarensis opera omnia.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1950. Pp. xii, 328. $3.50.)

Bilmanis, Alfred. *A History of Latvia.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xi, 441. $6.00.) The former Latvian minister to Washington has written here the full story of his people from pre-historic times to the absorption of the little Baltic republic by Russia in 1945. It is an attractively produced volume and contains a bibliography of five pages. Dr. Bilmanis spent a great deal of his time in the years after Latvia lost its independence in writing numerous articles and brochures on the history of his people. He died on July 26, 1948.

Bland, Sister Joan, S.N.D. *Hibernian Crusade. The Story of the Catholic Total Abstinence Union of America.* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 1951. Pp. ix, 297. $3.00.)

Bower, William Clayton. *Moral and Spiritual Values in Education. A Challenge to Every American.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1952. Pp. xv, 214. $3.50.) The preface to this volume is written by Raymond F. McLain, general director of the Commission on Christian Higher Education of the National Council of Churches of Christ and the introduction by Herman Lee Donovan, president of the University of Kentucky. Dr. Bower was at the University of Chicago from 1925 to 1943 as professor of religious education. In the fourteen chapters of this book the author endeavors to describe the grave situation that confronts the United States at the present time in its declining morals, to give a basic philosophy of how to cure it, and techniques of a program of emphasis. Although the author's effort and intention are admirable it is to be feared that the program he lays down will not be found adequate to meet the moral crisis of our day without a more prominent place being given to religious instruction of the young as one of the major sources from which a remedy will come.

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Brock, W. R., Fellow of Selwyn College, Cambridge. *Britain and the Dominions.* (Cambridge: At the University Press. 1951. Pp. xxi, 522. $2.50.) This is the first volume in the new British Commonwealth Series which has recently been undertaken by the syndics of the Cambridge University Press. The series is intended to acquaint students in every part of the British Commonwealth with the history of the other parts and of the whole. Volumes II, III, IV, and V will cover the histories of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa respectively. The present volume traces the beginnings of overseas expansion in the sixteenth century and comes down to the present time in an over-all account of the entire Commonwealth. There are forty-

seven illustrations, about thirty maps, and eighteen diagrams. There is, however, no bibliography and an index of eleven and a half pages is not very extensive for 510 pages of text.

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